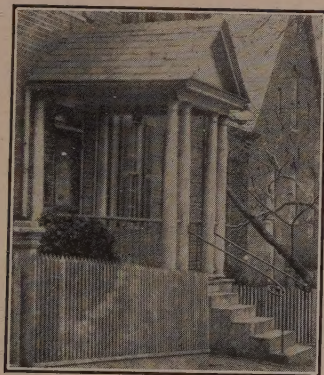


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GILDERSLEEVE-LODGE LATIN SERIES

M. TULLI CICERONIS
DE OFFICIIS

LIBER PRIMUS

EDITED WITH INTRODUCTION AND COMMENTARY

BY

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Cicero, Marcus Tullius



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PREFACE

THE text of this edition of the *De Officiis* is, with slight changes, that of C. F. W. Müller (Leipsic, 1882). Modifications have been made in the spelling and punctuation, and in a few instances a different reading from that of Müller has been adopted.

The Introduction is designed to give the student the most important facts in the history of the treatise and to furnish him with the information needed for a clear understanding of its character and purpose. The schools of philosophy in Cicero's day and his own training and standing as a philosopher are briefly set forth to show the spirit with which he entered upon his literary tasks and the influences which moulded his thoughts and shaped his theories. The Analysis traces the course of the argument and indicates the relation of each topic to the principal theme.

In preparing the Commentary the aim has been to help the student and to guide him in his study, but not to perform his work for him, or to usurp the place of the instructor. Many parallel passages have been cited to throw light upon text and linguistic usage, and for the larger purpose of stimulating the pupil to a wider range of classical reading. Numerous grammatical references are given to the latest editions of the manuals in most general use in this country. A brief Critical Appendix shows the principal variations of the manuscripts and the readings that have been adopted by the leading editors. An Index of Proper Names and an Index to the Notes are added for convenience of reference.

It would be difficult to enumerate all the works which

have been consulted in the preparation of this volume. The scholarly editions of Lemaire, C. F. W. Müller, Holden, Heine, Dettweiler, and Sabbadini, have been most suggestive and helpful, and to these I desire to acknowledge my indebtedness.

Only the first book of the *De Officiis* is here presented. I hope to be able in the future to prepare the remaining books for publication in a second volume.

My thanks are due to Professor Lodge for his aid in taking these pages through the press. I am also under special obligation to Professor Charles Knapp, of Barnard College, for the care with which he has read the proof of the Commentary and for many valuable suggestions in regard to the Notes.

FRANK E. ROCKWOOD.

BUCKNELL UNIVERSITY, *March*, 1901.

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Je vous ai dit souvent que ce qui me frappait le plus d'admiration dans toute l'antiquité était la maxime de Zoroastre: " Dans la doute si une action est juste ou injuste, abstiens-toi."

Voilà la règle de tous les gens de bien; voilà le principe de toute la morale. Ce principe est l'âme de votre excellent livre des *Offices*. On n'écrira jamais rien de plus sage, de plus vrai, de plus utile. Désormais ceux qui auront l'ambition d'instruire les hommes, et de leur donner des préceptes, seront des charlatans s'ils veulent s'élever audessus de vous, ou seront tous vos imitateurs.—VOLTAIRE, *Lettres de Memmius à Cicéron*, III, 19.

INTRODUCTION

Time of Composition

1. Cicero wrote the *De Officiis*, among the last of his philosophical works, in the year 44 B.C. That its composition took place after Caesar's assassination on the Ides of March is evident from I. 8, 26: *Declaravit id modo temeritas C. Caesaris*, and from similar allusions in other passages.¹ The *Laelius* and the *De Gloria*, both of which were written after Caesar's death, were completed before the *De Officiis*.² The exact date, however, or even the month in which the *De Officiis* was commenced, cannot be so clearly determined. Cicero states in the opening sentence that Marcus had been studying under Cratippus for a year, while in a letter to Atticus, written in June, 44 B.C.,³ he brings out the fact that Marcus went to Athens early in April, 45 B.C. Making due allowance, then, for the completion of the *Laelius* and the *De Gloria*, it might seem reasonable to conclude that the *De Officiis* was begun early in the summer, 44 B.C., and this view of the question has been adopted by many authorities. If, however, this conclusion be correct, Cicero's plan to visit Greece in July—a plan which he was prevented from carrying out immediately by unfavorable weather, and at last by the news received from his friends in Rome—his return to the capital at the close of August, and his renewed

¹ E.g. *Off.* II. 7, 23: *Nec vero huius tyranni solum . . . interitus declarat, quantum odium hominum valeat ad pestem*; III. 4, 19: *Num igitur se astrinxit scelere, si qui tyrannum occidit quamvis familiarem?*

² *Off.* II. 9, 31: *Sed de amicitia alio libro dictum est . . . nunc dicamus de gloria, quamquam ea quoque de re duo sunt nostri libri.*

³ *Att.* XV. 15, 4.

activity in political matters, lasting as it did until October, when fear of Antony compelled him to find refuge in his villa at Puteoli, must have caused a serious break between the beginning and the final accomplishment of his task.

2. The first direct allusion to the *De Officiis* is found in a letter to Atticus, October 25th, 44 B.C.,¹ and from this fact some authors reject the foregoing theory and claim that the work was not commenced until October. In harmony with this view they interpret somewhat freely *annum iam audientem Cratippum*, in the opening sentence, suggesting that, while it refers to the actual period of study, Marcus may have been in Athens a considerable time before he began to receive philosophical instruction from Cratippus. Again, in support of this later date it is claimed that Cicero, if he had carried out his intention of visiting Athens in the summer, would have given his instruction to Marcus in person, and that he began this treatise only when he had decided to remain in Italy. Cicero's own words² are urged to prove that he did not begin this work until after his recall from his attempted voyage. On the 5th of November³ Cicero wrote that he had already finished two of the three books: Τὰ περὶ τοῦ καθήκοντος, at the same time making reference to the topic of the third book, and to the general subject of the entire work. His return to Rome on the 9th of December,⁴ and his renewed zeal in his endeavors to thwart his political foes, make it probable that he had completed his literary task by that time. And so, while the facts at hand do not warrant us in deciding positively whether the composition was commenced in June or in October, yet we are justified in assigning its completion to the closing month of the

¹ *Att.* xv. 13, 6.

² *Off.* iii. 33, 121: *ut, si ipse venissem Athenas (quod quidem esset factum, nisi me e medio cursu clara voce patria revocasset), aliquando me quoque audires, sic, quoniam his voluminibus ad te profecta vox est mea, tribues iis temporis quantum poteris.*

³ *Att.* xvi. 11, 4: *quatenus Panaetius, absolvi duobus.*

⁴ *Fam.* xi. 5, 1.

year 44 B.C., a year already made memorable in Cicero's literary career by the publication of his delightful essays on Old Age and Friendship.

Reasons for Writing the *De Officiis*

3. Cicero's reasons for devoting himself to philosophical studies at this time, and the special object he had in writing on Moral Duties, are clearly set forth in the opening chapters of the second and third books. So long as the political condition of Rome made it possible for him to take an active part in public affairs, he devoted all his thought and all his energy to the welfare of the state. When Caesar became supreme, and there was no longer opportunity for Cicero to appear in the courts, to take part in the deliberations of the senate, or to address the people on political themes, his restless mind found occupation in philosophical study and composition. Before this he had sought in philosophy only discipline for his youth and culture for his maturer years. Now he was eager to give his countrymen the benefit of his wide reading and liberal studies. The practical wisdom and sublime teachings of Socrates, Plato, and their successors he reproduced in the Latin tongue, and not only first brought them to the knowledge of the Roman world, but preserved them for the benefit of modern times. Cicero's buoyant spirit and good sense, and the lessons he had learned in the schools of the philosophers, kept him alike from despair, from unmanly pleasures, and from absolute idleness.

4. But Cicero had a personal reason, quite apart from his general literary activity, for preparing this special work. The young Marcus, following the custom prevailing among the well-born Roman youth of that day, was studying philosophy in Athens. Unfavorable reports and disagreeable rumors concerning his course reached Cicero's ears from time to time and rendered him somewhat anxious about the habits and the possible future of his son.

That he might impress him with a proper sense of responsibility ; that he might inspire him with ambition to add to the honor of his father's name, and that he might set before him a complete outline of the duties of a Roman citizen, with the philosophical principles underlying them, Cicero wrote and dedicated to Marcus his treatise on Moral Duties.

5. **Marcus Tullius Cicero**, the only son of the orator and Terentia, was born 65 B.C., the same year as Horace. In 51 B.C. he accompanied his father to Cilicia, of which province the latter had been made governor. After receiving the best instruction and enjoying the benefits of travel in Greece and the East, Marcus assumed the *toga virilis* in March, 49 B.C. Naturally inclined toward a military life, he served under Pompey in the Civil War as a commander of cavalry, and won distinction by his courage and skill.¹ In 45 B.C. he was eager to go to Spain and fight under the banner of Caesar, but his father sent him instead to Athens, to study philosophy under Cratippus the Peripatetic. At first Marcus took very little interest in his studies, and soon fell into extravagant and dissipated habits. That his father's anxiety over his course and his deep solicitude in his behalf were productive of temporary improvement at least, is indicated by a letter from Marcus to Tiro.²

6. Like Horace, young Cicero joined the army of Brutus and Cassius, and took part in the battle of Philippi. After the defeat and death of the republican leaders, Marcus served for a time with Sextus Pompey in Sicily, but ultimately made peace with the triumvirs and was allowed to return to Rome. In the year 30 B.C. he was associated with Octavian in the consulship, and had the satisfaction of executing the decree of the senate ordering the destruc-

¹ II. 13, 45: *Cum te Pompeius alae praefecisset magnam laudem et a summo viro et ab exercitu consequere.*

² *Fam.* XVI. 21.

tion of all the statues and memorials which had been erected in honor of Antony. After his consulship he was appointed governor of an Eastern province, and from that time ceased to figure prominently in Roman history.

Plan of the Work

7. Hitherto Cicero had made use of dialogue to give life and force to his philosophical discussions. In this respect Aristotle was his model. One principal speaker unfolded the subject to his eager listeners, with but few brief interruptions on their part. Thus Cato was represented as speaking to Laelius and Scipio, and later Laelius was introduced as the one most worthy to expound the principles of friendship to Scaevola and Fannius. The Socratic method, with its constant movement of question and answer, was not rhetorical enough for Cicero, who prized above all things in discourse artistic method and effective expression. In the present work Cicero discards dialogue and every artificial device, and addresses his son as if he were speaking to him face to face. This direct method enables him to combine warning with exposition and personal appeal with logical argument. He can thus press home on the young Marcus right ethical theories, and show him by wealth of illustration from his country's annals that neither theories nor principles are of great value unless they find their complement in right action. In closing, Cicero feelingly speaks of his work as a father's gift to his son, the pledge of an abiding affection, which was destined to become still stronger, if the son would but find his chief delight in obeying the voice of duty.

Source of Material

8. If Cicero had relied entirely upon his own investigations, or had set out to formulate new theories and to enter unfamiliar fields of discussion, he would have left fewer books, and would have rendered far less service to his coun-

trymen and to the present-day students of ancient philosophy. His busy life as statesman and advocate had made such a course impossible for him, even if he had possessed the scientific mind of an Aristotle or the divine inspiration of a Plato. But his wide acquaintance with the Greek philosophers, and his ambition to publish their thoughts in appropriate Latin, made it easy and natural for him to select a trustworthy authority, and from such an approved source to obtain the materials required for his various treatises, seeking all the while to enrich his work from his own experience, and to give it practical value and personal interest by the introduction of illustrious examples from the best days of the Republic.

9. The model for the *De Officiis* was Panaetius' *περὶ τοῦ καθήκοντος*, as Cicero has himself distinctly stated.¹ But he has also taken occasion more than once to emphasize the fact that he did not follow his model as a mere translator.² As it is impossible to compare the work of Panaetius (now lost) with Cicero's, it is impossible to tell just how closely the latter copied his model. His dependence upon it was undoubtedly greater in the first book than in the second. In the third, as Panaetius had omitted the final division of the subject, Cicero was forced to rely principally upon himself.³ But he received some assistance, however, from Posidonius in preparing the closing volume of the treatise.⁴ Hecaton of Rhodes, a pupil of Panaetius and the

¹ III. 2, 7: *Panaetius igitur, qui sine controversia de officiis accuratissime disputavit, quemque nos correctione quadam adhibita potissimum secuti sumus*, etc.

² I. 2, 6: *Sequemur igitur hoc quidem tempore et hac in quaestione potissimum Stoicos non ut interpretes, sed ut solemus, e fontibus eorum iudicio arbitrioque nostro, quantum quoque modo videbitur, hauriemus*; and II. 17, 60: *hic ipse Panaetius, quem multum in his libris secutus sum, non interpretatus*.

³ III. 7, 34: *Hanc igitur partem relictam explebimus nullis adminiculis, sed, ut dicitur, Marte nostro. Neque enim quicquam est de hac parte post Panaetium explicatum, quod quidem mihi probaretur, de iis quae in manus meas venerunt*.

⁴ III. 2, 8: *Quem locum . . . a Posidonio breviter esse tactum in quibusdam commentariis*; cf. also a letter to Atticus, XVI. II, 4: *Eum locum Posidonius persecutus est, ego autem et eius librum arcessivi et ad Athenodorum Calvum scripsi ut ad me τὰ κεφάλαια mitteret*.

author of a work on Duty,¹ Diogenes of Babylon and his pupil Antipater of Tarsus, who are represented as discussing the apparent conflict between the honorable and the useful in certain special cases,² and Antipater of Tyre³ complete the list of authorities distinctly mentioned by Cicero himself.

10. **Panaetius** of Rhodes was born about 180 B.C., and received his training at Athens under the Stoics Diogenes and Antipater. About 140 B.C. he visited Rome, and gave lectures on philosophy. Among his friends and pupils were Scipio and Laelius. The Stoicism of Panaetius was milder and more practical than the original tenets of that sect, and therefore found greater favor with the Roman nobles. Inclined toward eclecticism, he accepted many of the doctrines of Plato and the Academy, and under their influence made the rigid rules of the Stoics more rational in theory and more flexible in practice. Upon his return to Athens he became the head of the Stoic school, retaining this position until his death, 111 B.C. His writings, chief among which was his work on Duty, have been lost. Among his most famous pupils was Posidonius, who afterwards became the teacher of Cicero.

Schools of Philosophy

11. A brief account of the origin and doctrines of the leading philosophical schools in Cicero's day is necessary, if we would know what influences shaped his opinions and what was the general trend of speculative thought among the intellectual men of his time.

12. The advent of **Socrates** marked the most notable epoch in the history of Greek thought. Before his appearance the great problem was the origin of the universe. With him the all-absorbing subject was man's duty and destiny. The breadth of Socrates' teaching and the stimulating power of his example were most strikingly illus-

¹ III. 63, 89.

² III. 12, 51-55.

³ II. 24, 86.

trated in the numerous schools of philosophy which followed his martyrdom and which owed their origin, in every instance, to some form of truth proclaimed by him, and taken up and developed by his pupils and successors.

13. **Plato**, Cicero's *deus philosophorum*, continued the work of his great master, and taught in the groves of Academus the principles of the new, idealized philosophy. His method and the groundwork of his doctrine came directly from Socrates. In the centuries between Plato and Cicero the theories of the Academics, as they were expounded by successive leaders, or modified by contact with opposing beliefs, naturally underwent many changes. The Academy of Philo and Antiochus was strongly inclined toward eclecticism. It incorporated in its teachings many of the opinions of the Stoics and Peripatetics, but foremost among its doctrines was the agnostic theory that absolute knowledge is impossible—that a high degree of probability is the very utmost that human reason can attain.

14. Plato's great pupil, **Aristotle**, lectured in the Lyceum at Athens, and formulated the principles of the Peripatetic school. His system followed the general lines of the Academic, but was free from the mysticism and obscurity which marked the latter. The dialectic method of Plato was developed by Aristotle into the science of logic. In Cicero's time, Cratippus was the leader of the Peripatetics; but the sect, in competition with its great rivals, had lost much of its earlier influence and importance.

15. **Zeno**, the founder of the Stoics, began to teach in the painted porch at Athens about 306 B.C. He declared that the highest good was to live in accordance with nature; that the wise man was the ideal man, perfectly good and therefore perfectly happy; that there was no intermediate stage between the wise man and the fool; and that there were no degrees of virtue and vice. The

advocates of this new doctrine had a definite object to accomplish. Greece had been deprived of its national independence; the people had lost faith in the religion of their fathers. There was no help from wretchedness and despair, unless philosophy should come to the rescue and teach men to rise superior to their surroundings. The Stoicism of Cicero's day was more agreeable in character and more attractive in form. The old dogmas were brought into greater harmony with human nature and common sense, and while the logic of the system suffered somewhat by this change, yet the new Stoicism was better adapted to man as a member of society and an integral part of the state.

16. In 306 B.C., **Epicurus** proclaimed in his garden at Athens the new doctrine of pleasure, and boldly declared that this is the highest good and that all things must be referred to pleasure as the standard of right. He sought to release men from the fear of death, and from bondage to ignorance and every form of superstition. In the exposition of his views he praised tranquillity of soul, and advocated pleasures of the highest and noblest type above mere physical enjoyment or sensual delight.

Cicero as a Philosopher

17. Cicero received instruction from the leading representatives of the four great schools, and made himself familiar with every shade of philosophical opinion in his day. Among his teachers were Phaedrus the Epicurean, Philo and Antiochus the Academics, and Posidonius and Diodotus the Stoics. With the last he came into the closest contact, entertaining him for many years in his own home, and receiving from him personal direction in the prosecution of his studies. Cicero's reading covered a wide range, embracing the entire history and development of Grecian philosophy. "He was," says Mayor, "confessed to be by far the most learned and accomplished of

the philosophical amateurs of his time.” The names that influenced him most strongly were those of Socrates and Plato. The character of these men, their devotion to truth, the purity of their teaching, and their incomparable service to philosophy made the most profound impression upon him, and affected to a remarkable degree the entire course of his intellectual life. It is no small proof of Cicero’s own nobility of soul that he recognized the power of those marvellous men, and paid tribute to the sincerity of their mission by the most loyal and outspoken admiration.

18. Cicero himself does not easily admit of classification. Not an original thinker or investigator in the highest sense of the term, he announced no new doctrines and proclaimed no new theories. At the same time, versed in the speculations of the schools, trained in the study of law, and, above all, eager for the active duties of Roman citizenship and official position, he naturally selected those ethical principles and rules of conduct which seemed to him to meet most fully the requirements of practical life and to harmonize most readily with his own idea of virtue—as patriotism in the highest and broadest sense ; patriotism which includes both love of country and family ; and reverence for the Supreme Power of the universe.

19. In speculative philosophy Cicero was an adherent of the new Academy, holding absolute certainty as unattainable, and only a high degree of probability as possible for man.¹ It must be remembered, however, that his scepticism applied to metaphysical questions especially, and not to every department of life and duty. While he denied the possibility of actual proof to some of the most cherished beliefs of the race, “he refused,” says Mayor, “both

¹ Cf. II. 2, 7 : *Nos autem, ut ceteri alia certa, alia incerta esse dicunt, sic ab his dissentientes alia probabilia, contra alia dicimus* ; and III. 4, 20 : *Nobis autem nostra Academia magnam licentiam dat, ut, quodcumque maxime probabile occurrat, id nostro iure liceat defendere.*

on the grounds of sentiment and of policy, to extend this scepticism to practical questions of morality and religion."

20. Cicero agreed with both the Stoics and the Peripatetics in declaring that virtue is the highest good, and that life in harmony with nature, or right reason, is man's first and greatest duty—the absolute requisite, in fact, to a peaceful and happy existence.¹ But in considering external good, Cicero sometimes inclined to the Stoic belief and sometimes to the Peripatetic. He found it difficult to accept unqualifiedly the theory that all temporal advantages are worthless, and that there is no intermediate ground between wisdom and folly. To a man of his refined character and sympathetic nature the Peripatetic view, which assigned some value to external good, seemed less harsh and severe.

21. Accepting in part the teachings of the Academics, in part those of the Stoics and Peripatetics, but wholly rejecting Epicureanism, whose doctrine of pleasure found no favor in his eyes, Cicero must be classed as an eclectic—the most natural position for him to take, in view of the wide range of his studies and his varied experience in public life. Rigid adherence to one narrow system would have been practically impossible for a man of his temperament. With his broad eclecticism he more completely fulfilled his mission to instruct his countrymen in the wisdom of the Greeks, and to transmit to later generations the best thought of the ancients. Cicero was primarily an orator, a champion of the old Republic, and intensely fond of political life. It was only an enforced withdrawal from public affairs that gave him opportunity to write extensively on philosophical themes. And he tried to solace himself in this irksome retirement by the thought that he might be doing to his fellow-citizens by his writings the

¹ III. 3, 13: *Quod summum bonum a Stoicis dicitur, convenienter naturae vivere, id habet hanc, ut opinor, sententiam, cum virtute congruere semper.*

good that he was prevented from doing by participating in public affairs.¹

22. Cicero's philosophical works in the widest sense include his various treatises on rhetorical and political subjects. Omitting these, however, from our present consideration, we may classify the remainder as speculative, ethical, and theological. To the first belong the *Paradoxa*, *Hortensius* (fragments), *De Finibus Bonorum et Malorum*, *Academicæ Quaestiones*, *Tusculanae Disputationes*, *Timæus ex Platone*. To the second the *Consolatio* (now lost), written after the death of his daughter Tullia; *De Senectute*, *De Amicitia*, *De Gloria* (now lost), and *De Officiis*. To the third, *De Natura Deorum*, *De Divinatione*, and *De Fato* (fragments).

23. The *Hortensius* was a defence of learning and philosophy, and practically formed an introduction to the entire series of philosophical works. Its loss is greatly to be regretted. St. Augustine declared that by the reading of the *Hortensius* he was led to the study of philosophy, and ultimately to the investigation of the doctrines of Christianity. The *De Finibus Bonorum et Malorum*, in five books, contains the theories of the Greek schools concerning the highest good and the greatest evil. It deals with the very foundations of philosophy, and is one of Cicero's best works. The *Academicæ Quaestiones*, in two books, explain and defend the doctrines of the Academic school, to which Cicero was strongly inclined. The *Tusculanae Disputationes*, in five books, so named from the Tusculan villa at which the scene of the imaginary dialogue was laid, contain the following and similar discussions: *de contemnenda morte*, *de tolerando dolore*. While speculative in character, the work is ethical in its applica-

¹ Cf. II. 2, 5: *Maximè igitur in malis hoc tamen boni assecuti videmur, ut ea litteris mandaremus, quæ nec erant satis nota nostris et erant cognitione dignissima. Quid enim est per deos, optabilius sapientia, quid præstantius, quid hominì melius, quid hominè dignius?*

tion to life. The *De Natura Deorum*, in three books, gives in dialogue form an exposition of the Academic, Epicurean, and Stoic theories of the nature and attributes of the gods. The *De Divinatione* and *De Fato* supplement this and complete the list of Cicero's theological, or religious works.

The Character of the *De Officiis*

24. Cicero discussed the theoretical side of duty in the *De Finibus Bonorum et Malorum*, written the year before the *De Officiis*. In beginning the present treatise he kept clearly in mind the twofold character of duty, and the absolute necessity of basing any sound system of practical ethics on correct principles.¹ Without a right conception of the highest good—the ultimate ground of right—there can be no correct understanding of duty in its highest and most comprehensive sense. The *De Officiis* is related to the *De Finibus* as the practical to the theoretical. The two make up the complete science, and are mutually helpful in explaining and supplementing each other.

25. While Cicero indulged in speculative philosophy and theoretical discussion, it was, for the most part, to help ultimately in the accomplishment of some useful purpose. His natural inclination was toward the practical—toward that which touched the life of the Roman citizen, or that which could be turned to the direct advantage of the state.² This characteristic was both national and personal with Cicero. The Romans were a practical people, more fond of action than of meditation, and Cicero himself was happiest when most fully engaged in the varied duties of advocate, senator, and statesman. With all the zeal and earnestness of his nature he turned to the parenetic side of ethics, and traced the path of duty for the

¹ I. 3, 7: *Omnis de officio duplex est quaestio: unum genus est, quod pertinet ad finem bonorum, alterum, quod positum est in praeceptis.*

² I. 43, 153: *Necesse est, quod a communitate ducatur officium, id esse maximum.*

young Roman, fitting his theories to actual life, and striving to make the *De Officiis* a practical and complete system of morals—a guide and standard of right for the highest type of citizen. For the composition of a treatise with such an object in view no one was better qualified, both by learning and experience, than Cicero.

26. In the development of his subject he follows a clear and well-defined plan. After appropriate introductory words to Marcus he sets forth the topic of discussion, his authority, and the manner in which he intends to make use of the latter. Rejecting Panaetius' threefold division as incomplete, he announces his own fivefold analysis of the subject, and in defining and explaining this, presents to the reader a brief but complete outline of the entire work.¹ The first topic, *de honesto*, includes chapters iv–xlii of the first book; the second, *comparatio honestorum*, chapters xliii–xlv; the third, *de utili*, chapters iii–xxiv, and the fourth, *utilitatum comparatio*, chapter xxv of the second book; the fifth, *honesti et utilis contentio*, chapters ii–xxxiii of the third book.

27. The *honestum*, corresponding to τὸ καθήκον of Panaetius, *the honorable, the fitting*, is shown by an analysis of man's nature to consist of four elements, or cardinal virtues: wisdom, justice, fortitude, and decorum. These virtues are considered in order in reference to their nature, their forms, and the duties derived from them. The practical bearings of these are illustrated by many examples from history and personal experience. *Honestorum comparatio*, which forms the concluding portion of the first book, consists of a comparison of the constituent elements of *the honorable*, and a determination of the relative rank and importance of the duties based upon the four virtues which combine to make up the *honestum*.

28. Following the announcement of the subject of the

¹ I. 3, 10: *Primum igitur est de honesto, sed dupliciter, tum pari ratione de utili, post de comparatione eorum disserendum.*

second book, *quid utile, quid inutile; tum ex utilibus quid utilius*, Cicero devotes two chapters to a justification of his interest in philosophy and a defence of his doctrines and method. He considers the nature and the sources of *the useful*, points out the most effective means of acquiring its benefits, and finally determines, by comparison, the relative expediency of different forms of external good. The underlying principle of the entire book is the identity of *the useful* and *the honorable*: that which is evil or unjust can never be expedient.

29. At the beginning of the third book Cicero refers again to the reasons for his retirement from public life and to his consequent devotion to philosophy; and then, with a word of exhortation to Marcus, proceeds to the fifth division of his subject, the part which had been omitted by Panaetius, or, at least, had not been completed by that author. That there can be no real conflict between *the useful* and *the honorable* Cicero distinctly affirms.¹ The apparent opposition at times is due only to uncertainty in regard to the true character of an action. When the moral quality of the act has been determined, then the rule is plain that what is not honorable is also not useful,² and the supposed conflict disappears. This line of argument is applied to virtue in general, and then to justice, fortitude, and decorum. With a brief epilogue containing a fatherly admonition to Marcus, the treatise closes.

30. In philosophy, Cicero was properly an eclectic (see above, § 21), but he chose Stoicism in preference to all other systems as the basis of the *De Officiis*, announcing in the beginning of the work that he followed the Stoics, though not slavishly or in a mere spirit of imitation. When considering the apparent conflict between the right and the useful, he makes a like declaration, thus making

¹ III. 3, 11: *Dubitandum non est quin numquam possit utilitas cum honestate contendere.*

² III. 4, 20: *nec utile quicquam quod non honestum.*

the morality of the Stoics the basis of his own system of practical ethics.¹ The Stoicism, however, which Cicero adopted in support of his theory of duty was not the original doctrine of Zeno, with its rigid logic and impossible standards, but an improved and modified form which had been introduced into Rome and taught to the Scipionic circle by Panaetius. When once this new and attractive philosophy had gained full acceptance at Rome, it affected not merely the principles and rules of individual conduct, but exerted a beneficial and ever-widening influence on the great body of Roman Law, softening its harsh features and bringing it more and more into harmony with the universal principles of right and duty.

31. By adopting the Stoic philosophy as the basis of his system of ethics, Cicero was compelled to accept, to some extent at least, its definitions and classifications. Accordingly he shows that duty may be considered either in the abstract or as applied to human actions, and that in the latter sense it may be *perfect* (*perfectum*) or *intermediate* (*medium*), as determined by the motive from which it springs and its relation to character. The perfect fulfilment of duty comes from a perfect nature, complete in wisdom and in goodness. A reasonable act, beneficial in its results, but due only to a temporary impulse, and to be regarded merely as a separate, individual act, and not as an expression of a symmetrical and unchangeable spiritual nature, is a *medium officium*, an example of an *intermediate* or *common duty*. The perfect duty is related to man's inner nature; the intermediate, to the external world. Accepting these definitions of the Stoics, Cicero confines his discussion to the practical side of the subject, leaving the perfection of the ideal man to the theorists; seeking rather to show how the actual man can make his

¹ III. 4, 19: *Itaque, ut sine ullo errore iudicare possimus . . . formula quaedam constituenda est. . . . Erit autem haec formula Stoicorum rationi disciplinaeque maxime consentanea; quam quidem his libris . . . sequimur.*

conduct conform to reason, and exemplify *the honorable* in every circumstance of life. If, indeed, the latter were wholly possible, both in motive and result, then the *medium officium* would become *perfectum*, and the imperfect mortal would rise to the character of the Stoic *sapiens*; and the ancient injunction to follow nature as the best guide, and to live in harmony with right reason, would bring man's life into full subjection to the higher law in accordance with which the universe itself is governed.¹ While recognizing this higher life of the Stoics as ideally desirable, Cicero refrained from turning his treatise into a mere collection of high-sounding phrases and extravagant laudation of unattainable virtue.

32. Cicero's fondness for public office, and his career as a statesman, affected his idea of true manliness, and his estimate of the relative importance of the duties required by the various relations of men to each other and to the government under which they live. Patriotism was, to him, the consummation of all virtues. The approbation of his fellow-citizens, and their recognition of his labors in behalf of the commonwealth, were the source of the greatest pleasure and the deepest satisfaction of his life. This element in Cicero's character not only influenced his general philosophical opinions, but manifested itself most strikingly in the *De Officiis*.²

33. Cicero's philosophical works are by no means free from defects. They were written rapidly in the closing years of a busy life. The author was not a philosopher by profession; he had merely engaged in this line of study as a means of recreation in the days of his prosperity, and as a source of comfort and solace in the time of political

¹ *Legg.* I. 12, 33: *Quibus enim ratio a natura data est, isdem etiam recta ratio data est, ergo et lex, quae est recta ratio in iubendo et vetando*; *N. D.* I. 15, 40: *Idemque etiam legis perpetuae et aeternae vim, quae quasi dux vitae et magistra officiorum sit, Iovem dicit esse.*

² I. 44, 160: *Quare hoc quidem effectum sit, in officiis deligendis id genus officiorum excellere, quod teneatur hominum societate.*

reverses and disappointments. In a letter to Atticus he speaks disparagingly of his own work ; in fact, his harshest critics could scarcely write more slightly of it.¹ The *De Officiis*, written in haste, when Cicero was discouraged over the political situation, having lost all hope of any beneficial results from Caesar's overthrow, and fearing new and still greater evils to the state from the supremacy of Antony, had the faults that one would naturally expect to find in a work composed under such circumstances—a certain amount of obscurity in meaning, an occasional repetition in matter, and at times a lack of clearness and consistency in the order of discussion. The third book, although enlivened by many apt illustrations and striking examples, is undoubtedly more defective in arrangement and less scientific in treatment than either the first or the second. This may be due to still greater haste in composition or to lack of a suitable model, from Panaetius' failure to develop this part of the discussion. Moreover, the whole treatise is limited in scope, because it was written expressly for the benefit of Cicero's son. The author kept this point constantly in mind, and therefore adapted his teaching to the Roman aristocracy. His code of morals was intended for knights and senators—for the noblest citizens, in short, of the Republic in its best days. The underlying principles, however, on which his philosophy was based must, so far as they were sound, apply to all ranks and classes. But in spite of these defects and limitations, the strong Roman coloring, the wealth of examples from ancient and contemporary history, the modern ring to much of the doctrine, the lofty morality, and the personal character of the treatise designed by a father for the instruction of his son—all combine to give the *De Officiis* a special charm, and to make it one of the most useful and popular of Cicero's works.

¹ *Att.* XII. 52, 3 : *Dices 'quid talia conscribis' ? 'Απόγραφα sunt ; minore labore sunt ; verba tantum affero, quibus abundo.*

The Judgments of Critics on the *De Officiis*

34. The praises of this work have been generously sounded both in ancient and modern times. Pliny wrote to the Emperor Titus, *N. H.* i. 17: *quae volumina (de officiis) eius ediscenda, non modo in manibus quotidie habenda nosti.* Aulus Gellius at a later date thus referred to it: *Panaetii . . . de officiis . . . illis inclitis libris, quos M. Tullius magno cum studio maximoque opere aemulatus est* (XIII. 28, 1). St. Ambrose composed a work on Christian ethics modelled after Cicero's, and entitled *De Officiis Ministrorum*. Melancthon, the gentle reformer and learned scholar, among his numerous compositions on linguistic and classical subjects, wrote a commentary on the *De Officiis*. The philosopher Garve, at the request of Frederick the Great, translated Cicero's famous treatise into German for the benefit of the youth of Prussia, and dedicated his work to his royal patron.

35. The encomiums of Cicero's biographers could scarcely be stronger: "The *De Officiis* is the best practical treatise on the Whole Duty of Man which Pagan antiquity affords." "Cicero has given life to the figure of Virtue and clothed it in warm flesh and blood." (Forsyth, *Cicero*, vol. II., p. 326.) "I regard the *De Officiis* as one of the most perfect treatises on morals which the world possesses, whether for the truth of the lessons given, for their universality, or for the beauty and lightness of the language." "There is not a precept taught in it which is not modern as well as ancient, and which is not fit alike for Christians and Pagans." (Trollope, *Cicero*, vol. II., pp. 314-15.)

36. The permanent value of Cicero's adaptation of Greek philosophy is strikingly set forth by Ritter: "In this respect we may consider the philosophical writings of Cicero as the foundation, not merely of the subsequent Roman philosophy, but also, in part, of the philosophy

of the Latin fathers, of the Christian church in the middle ages, and even of the philosophy which was diffused after the revival of letters." (*Hist. Phil.*, vol. iv., p. 161.) "They [Cicero's philosophic writings] have thus kept alive the memory of ancient philosophy, and have humanized the thoughts and words of one generation after another. If we were required to decide what ancient writings have most directly influenced the modern world, the award must probably go in favor of Plutarch's *Lives* and of the philosophical works of Cicero." (Strachan-Davidson, *Life of Cicero*, p. 369.)

ANALYSIS

BOOK I

I. INTRODUCTION

1. Cicero urges Marcus to follow his example in combining the study of Latin and Greek in philosophy and oratory.
2. The subject of the treatise. Cicero follows the Stoics, but not as a mere translator.
3. The question of duty is both theoretic and practical. The deliberation in regard to it is fivefold.

II. DISCUSSION

A. DE HONESTO. THE FOUR CARDINAL VIRTUES.

1. *Sapientia*.

2. *Iustitia*, *Beneficentia*.

1. *Iustitia*.

a. Nature and foundation of *Iustitia*.

b. Two kinds of *Iniustitia*, active and passive.

c. Rules to be observed :

1. When there is doubt about the justice of an act.
2. When duty has been affected by a change of circumstances.
3. In the interpretation of law.
4. Toward private and public enemies.
5. In the treatment of slaves.

d. Injustice from fraud the worst form.

2. *Beneficentia*.

a. Three cautions :

1. It should not be injurious to the recipient or to others.
2. It should not overtax the giver.
3. It should depend upon the character, service, and needs of the one benefited.

- b. It will vary with the relationship which exists between :
 - 1. Members of the human family.
 - 2. Men of the same race and language.
 - 3. Citizens of the same state.
 - 4. Kinsmen.
 - 5. Friends.
- c. Sometimes it should be controlled by special circumstances.

3. *Fortitudo.*

- 1. In its true form it involves *Iustitia*.
- 2. Its twofold nature shown :
 - a. In disregarding temporal gain.
 - b. In rendering public service, either in peace or in war.
- 3. Duties based upon it :
 - a. In war.
 - b. In affairs of state.
 - c. In personal matters.

4. *Temperantia et Decorum.*

- 1. Its nature.
- 2. Its two divisions.
- 3. Duties suggested by it :
 - a. To follow nature, the best guide, and to rule the appetites. To accomplish this one must keep in mind :
 - 1. Man's higher nature.
 - 2. Individual characteristics.
 - 3. The requirements of one's rank and profession.
 - 4. What is becoming to each age.
 - 5. The duties of officers, citizens, and foreigners.
 - b. Propriety in word and deed, shown in :
 - 1. Modesty.
 - 2. Dignity of bearing.
 - 3. Refinement in speech and conversation.
 - 4. A home befitting one's station.
 - 5. Method and seasonableness in all actions.
 - 6. Choice of occupation.

B. **HONESTORUM COMPARATIO.**

- 1. The duties required by *Iustitia* superior to those based upon *Sapientia*.
- 2. Duties in order of importance.

M. TULLI CICERONIS
DE OFFICIIS AD MARCUM FILIUM
LIBER PRIMUS.

Introduction. Chapters I-III.

Cicero advises Marcus, while hearing Cratippus at Athens, to unite the study of Latin and Greek in philosophy and oratory, and for this purpose to read his orations and philosophical works. The Greek philosophers and orators were content to excel in one department of study.

I. 1. Quamquam te, Marce fili, annum iam audientem Cratippum, idque Athenis, abundare oportet praeceptis institutisque philosophiae propter summam et doctoris auctoritatem et urbis, quorum alter te scientia augere potest, altera exemplis, tamen, ut ipse ad 5 meam utilitatem semper cum Graecis Latina coniunxi neque id in philosophia solum, sed etiam in dicendi exercitatione feci, idem tibi censeo faciendum, ut par sis in utriusque orationis facultate. Quam quidem ad rem nos, ut videmur, magnum attulimus adiu- 10 tum hominibus nostris, ut non modo Graecarum litterarum rudes, sed etiam docti aliquantum se arbitrentur adeptos et ad dicendum et ad iudicandum. 2. Quam ob rem discas tu quidem a principe huius aetatis philosophorum, et discas, quam diu voles; tam diu autem 15 velle debebis, quoad te, quantum proficias, non pae- nitebit; sed tamen nostra legens non multum a Peripateticis dissidentia, quoniam utrique Socratici et Platonici volumus esse, de rebus ipsis utere tuo iu-

- 20 dicio (nihil enim impedio), orationem autem Latinam efficies profecto legendis nostris plenior. Nec vero hoc arroganter dictum existimari velim. Nam philosophandi scientiam concedens multis, quod est oratoris proprium, apte, distincte, ornate dicere, quoniam
- 25 in eo studio aetatem consumpsi, si id mihi assumo, videor id meo iure quodam modo vindicare. **3.** Quam ob rem magnopere te hortor, mi Cicero, ut non solum orationes meas, sed hos etiam de philosophia libros, qui iam illis fere se aequarunt, studiose legas ;
- 30 vis enim maior in illis dicendi, sed hoc quoque colendum est aequabile et temperatum orationis genus. Et id quidem nemini video Graecorum adhuc contigisse, ut idem utroque in genere elaboraret sequereturque et illud forense dicendi et hoc quietum disputandi
- 35 genus, nisi forte Demetrius Phalereus in hoc numero haberi potest, disputator subtilis, orator parum vehemens, dulcis tamen, ut Theophrasti discipulum possis agnoscere. Nos autem quantum in utroque profecerimus, aliorum sit iudicium, utrumque certe secuti sumus.
- 40 **4.** Equidem et Platonem existimo, si genus forense dicendi tractare voluisset, gravissime et copiosissime potuisse dicere, et Demosthenem, si illa, quae a Platone didicerat, tenuisset et pronuntiare voluisset, ornate splendideque facere potuisse ; eodemque modo de Aristotele et Isocrate iudico, quorum uterque suo studio
- 45 delectatus contempsit alterum.

Cicero's reasons for writing on Moral Duties. The subject belongs to all schools of philosophy, but a correct system must be based on the right theory of the Highest Good. The Stoics, Academics, and Peripatetics alone entitled to be heard. Cicero will follow the Stoics, in the main.

II. Sed cum statuissem scribere ad te aliquid hoc tempore, multa posthac, ab eo ordiri maxime volui, quod et aetati tuae esset aptissimum et auctoritati meae.

Nam cum multa sint in philosophia et gravia et utilia 50 accurate copioseque a philosophis disputata, latissime patere videntur ea, quae de officiis tradita ab illis et praecepta sunt. Nulla enim vitae pars neque publicis neque privatis neque forensibus neque domesticis in rebus, neque si tecum agas quid, neque si cum altero 55 contrahas, vacare officio potest, in eoque et colendo sita vitae est honestas omnis et negligendo turpitudine.

5. Atque haec quidem quaestio communis est omnium philosophorum; quis est enim, qui nullis officii praeceptis tradendis philosophum se audeat dicere? Sed sunt 60 non nullae disciplinae, quae propositis bonorum et malorum finibus officium omne pervertant. Nam qui summum bonum sic instituit, ut nihil habeat cum virtute coniunctum, idque suis commodis, non honestate metitur, hic, si sibi ipse consentiat et non interdum naturae 65 bonitate vincatur, neque amicitiam colere possit nec iustitiam nec liberalitatem; fortis vero dolorem summum malum iudicans aut temperans voluptatem summum bonum statuens esse certe nullo modo potest. 6. Quae quamquam ita sunt in promptu, ut res disputatione non 70 egeat, tamen sunt a nobis alio loco disputata. Hae disciplinae igitur si sibi consentaneae velint esse, de officio nihil queant dicere, neque ulla officii praecepta firma, stabilia, coniuncta naturae tradi possunt nisi aut ab iis, qui solam, aut ab iis, qui maxime honestatem 75 propter se dicant expetendam. Ita propria est ea praeceptio Stoicorum, Academicorum, Peripateticorum, quoniam Aristonis, Pyrrhonis, Erilli iam pridem explosa sententia est; qui tamen haberent ius suum disputandi de officio, si rerum aliquem dilectum reliquissent, ut ad 80 officii inventionem aditus esset. Sequemur igitur hoc quidem tempore et hac in quaestione potissimum Stoicos non ut interpretes, sed, ut solemus, e fontibus eorum iudicio arbitrioque nostro, quantum quoque modo videbitur, hauriemus.

Duty must be defined. Every inquiry concerning duty is twofold. one part pertains to the ultimate ground of right; the other, to the rules of correct living. Duties are divided into media and perfecta. According to Panaetius, deliberation in regard to duty is threefold; according to Cicero, fivefold.

7. Placet igitur, quoniam omnis disputatio de officio futura est, ante definire, quid sit officium; quod a Panaetio praetermissum esse miror. Omnis enim, quae ratione suscipitur de aliqua re institutio, debet a
 90 definitione proficisci, ut intellegatur, quid sit id, de quo disputetur. . . . III. Omnis de officio duplex est quaestio : unum genus est, quod pertinet ad finem bonorum, alterum, quod positum est in praeceptis, quibus in omnis partis usus vitae conformari possit. Superioris generis
 95 huius modi sunt exempla : omniane officia perfecta sint, num quod officium aliud alio maius sit, et quae sunt generis eiusdem. Quorum autem officiorum praecepta traduntur, ea quamquam pertinent ad finem bonorum, tamen minus id apparet, quia magis ad institutionem
 100 vitae communis spectare videntur; de quibus est nobis his libris explicandum. 8. Atque etiam alia divisio est officii. Nam et medium quoddam officium dicitur et perfectum. Perfectum officium rectum, opinor, vocemus, quoniam Graeci κατόρθωμα, hoc autem commune
 105 officium καθήκον vocant. Atque ea sic definiunt, ut, rectum quod sit, id officium perfectum esse definiant; medium autem officium id esse dicunt, quod cur factum sit, ratio probabilis reddi possit. 9. Triplex igitur est, ut Panaetio videtur, consilii capiendi deliberatio. Nam
 110 aut honestumne factu sit an turpe dubitant id, quod in deliberationem cadit; in quo considerando saepe animi in contrarias sententias distrahuntur. Tum autem aut anquirunt aut consultant, ad vitae commoditatem iucunditatemque, ad facultates rerum atque copias, ad opes,
 115 ad potentiam, quibus et se possint iuvare et suos, con-
 ducat id necne, de quo deliberant; quae deliberatio om-

nis in rationem utilitatis cadit. Tertium dubitandi genus est, cum pugnare videtur cum honesto id, quod videtur esse utile; cum enim utilitas ad se rapere, honestas contra revocare ad se videtur, fit ut distrahatur in deliberando animus adferatque ancipitem curam cogitandi. 10. Hac divisione, cum praeterire aliquid maximum vitium in dividendo sit, duo praetermissa sunt; nec enim solum utrum honestum an turpe sit, deliberari solet, sed etiam duobus propositis honestis utrum honestius, itemque duobus propositis utilibus utrum utilius. Ita, quam ille triplicem putavit esse rationem, in quinque partes distribui debere reperitur. Primum igitur est de honesto, sed dupliciter, tum pari ratione de utili, post de comparatione eorum disserendum. 130

Discussion—First Part. Chapters IV–XLII.

All living beings are endowed with the instinct of self-preservation and the desire to reproduce their kind. Man, elevated by the possession of reason, is a social being; to him belong desire for knowledge and ambition for leadership. He alone perceives the beauty and harmony of the physical world and seeks to reproduce them in the moral.

IV. 11. Principio generi animantium omni est a natura tributum, ut se, vitam corpusque tueatur, declinet ea, quae nocitura videantur, omniaque, quae sint ad vivendum necessaria, anquirat et paret, ut pastum, ut latibula, ut alia generis eiusdem. Commune item animantium omnium est coniunctionis adpetitus procreandi causa et cura quaedam eorum, quae procreata sint; sed inter hominem et beluam hoc maxime interest, quod haec tantum, quantum sensu movetur, ad id solum, quod adest quodque praesens est, se accommodat paulum admodum sentiens praeteritum aut futurum; homo autem, quod rationis est particeps, per quam consequentia cernit, causas rerum videt earumque praegressus et quasi antecessiones non ignorat, similitudines comparat rebusque praesentibus adiungit atque 140

145 adnectit futuras, facile totius vitae cursum videt ad
eamque degendam praeparat res necessarias. 12. Eadem-
que natura vi rationis hominem conciliat homini et ad
orationis et ad vitae societatem ingeneratque in primis
150 praecipuum quendam amorem in eos, qui procreati sunt,
impellitque, ut hominum coetus et celebrationes et esse et
a se obiri velit ob easque causas studeat parare ea, quae
suppeditent ad cultum et ad victum, nec sibi soli, sed
coniugi, liberis ceterisque, quos caros habeat tuerique
debeat; quae cura exsuscitat etiam animos et maiores ad
155 rem gerendam facit. 13. In primisque hominis est propria
veri inquisitio atque investigatio. Itaque cum sumus
necessariis negotiis curisque vacui, tum avemus aliquid
videre, audire, addiscere cognitionemque rerum aut occul-
tarum aut admirabilium ad beate vivendum necessariam
160 ducimus. Ex quo intellegitur, quod verum, simplex sin-
cerumque sit, id esse naturae hominis aptissimum. Huic
veri videndi cupiditati adiuncta est adpetitio quaedam
principatus, ut nemini parere animus bene informatus a
natura velit nisi praecipienti aut docenti aut utilitatis
165 causa iuste et legitime imperanti; ex quo magnitudo
animi existit humanarumque rerum contemptio. 14. Nec
vero illa parva vis naturae est rationisque, quod unum
hoc animal sentit, quid sit ordo, quid sit quod deceat, in
factis dictisque qui modus. Itaque eorum ipsorum quae
170 aspectu sentiuntur, nullum aliud animal pulchritudinem,
venustatem, convenientiam partium sentit; quam simili-
tudinem natura ratioque ab oculis ad animum transferens
multo etiam magis pulchritudinem, constantiam, ordinem
in consiliis factisque conservandam putat cavetque, ne
175 quid indecore effeminateve faciat, tum in omnibus et
opinionibus et factis ne quid libidinese aut faciat aut
cogitet. Quibus ex rebus conflatur et efficitur id, quod
quaerimus, honestum, quod etiamsi nobilitatum non sit,
tamen honestum sit, quodque vere dicimus, etiamsi a
180 nullo laudetur, natura esse laudabile.

The honestum is made up of four parts : sapientia, iustitia, fortitudo, temperantia. To sapientia belongs the study of truth ; to iustitia the protection of society ; fortitudo is shown in action and in the disregard of temporal affairs ; moderatio, in order and decorum.

V. 15. Formam quidem ipsam, Marce fili, et tamquam faciem honesti vides, 'quae si oculis cerneretur, mirabiles amores,' ut ait Plato, 'excitaret sapientiae.' Sed omne, quod est honestum, id quattuor partium oritur ex aliqua: aut enim in perspicientia verisollertia- 185 que versatur aut in hominum societate tuenda tribuendoque suum cuique et rerum contractarum fide aut in animi excelsi atque invicti magnitudine ac robore aut in omnium, quae fiunt quaeque dicuntur, ordine et modo, in quo inest modestia et temperantia. Quae quattuor quamquam inter se 190 colligata atque implicata sunt, tamē ex singulis certa officiorum genera nascuntur, velut ex ea parte, quae prima descripta est, in qua sapientiam et prudentiam ponimus, inest indagatio atque inventio veri, eiusque virtutis hoc munus est proprium. 16. Ut enim quisque maxime perspicit, quid 195 in re quaque verissimum sit, quique acutissime et celerrime potest et videre et explicare rationem, is prudentissimus et sapientissimus rite haberi solet. Quocirca huic quasi materia, quam tractet et in qua versetur, subiecta est veritas. 17. Reliquis autem tribus virtutibus necessitates 200 propositae sunt ad eas res parandas tuendasque, quibus actio vitae continetur, ut et societas hominum coniunctioque servetur et animi excellentia magnitudoque cum in augendis opibus utilitatibusque et sibi et suis comparandis, tum multo magis in his ipsis despiciendis eluceat. Ordo 205 autem et constantia et moderatio et ea, quae sunt his similia, versantur in eo genere, ad quod est adhibenda actio quaedam, non solum mentis agitatio. Iis enim rebus, quae tractantur in vita, modum quendam et ordinem adhibentes honestatem et decus conservabimus. 210

Sapientia. Wisdom touches human nature most closely. All are influenced by a desire for knowledge. Two evils are to be avoided: hasty and unwarranted conclusions; profitless investigations. Useful studies deserving of praise; but action is the real test of their value.

VI. 18. Ex quattuor autem locis, in quos honesti naturam vimque divisimus, primus ille, qui in veri cognitione consistit, maxime naturam attingit humanam. Omnes enim trahimur et ducimur ad cognitionis et
 215 scientiae cupiditatem, in qua excellere pulchrum putamus, labi autem, errare, nescire, decipi et malum et turpe ducimus. In hoc genere et naturali et honesto duo vitia vitanda sunt, unum, ne incognita pro cognitis habeamus iisque temere assentiamur; quod vitium effugere qui volet
 220 (omnes autem velle debent), adhibebit ad considerandas res et tempus et diligentiam. 19. Alterum est vitium, quod quidam nimis magnum studium multamque operam in res obscuras atque difficiles conferunt easdemque non necessarias. Quibus vitiis declinatis quod in rebus
 225 honestis et cognitione dignis operae curaeque ponetur, id iure laudabitur, ut in astrologia C. Sulpicium audivimus, in geometria Sex. Pompeium ipsi cognovimus, multos in dialecticis, plures in iure civili, quae omnes artes in veri investigatione versantur; cuius studio a rebus gerendis
 230 abduci contra officium est. Virtutis enim laus omnis in actione consistit; a qua tamen fit intermissio saepe multique dantur ad studia reditus; tum agitatio mentis, quae numquam adquiescit, potest nos in studiis cognitionis etiam sine opera nostra continere. Omnis autem cogi-
 235 tatio motusque animi aut in consiliis capiendis de rebus honestis et pertinentibus ad bene beateque vivendum aut in studiis scientiae cognitionisque versabitur. Ac de primo quidem officii fonte diximus.

Iustitia and beneficentia. The first duty of Justice is to harm no one, unless provoked, and to respect the rights of property; the second is to render aid to others. Faith the foundation of Justice.

Two kinds of injustice : the infliction of wrong ; the failure to protect others from wrong when possible. The first is due either to fear for one's personal safety or to avarice.

VII. 20. De tribus autem reliquis latissime patet ea ratio, qua societas hominum inter ipsos et vitae quasi 240
 communitas continetur ; cuius partes duae, iustitia, in qua virtutis est splendor maximus, ex qua viri boni nominantur, et huic coniuncta beneficentia, quam eandem vel benignitatem vel liberalitatem appellari licet. Sed iustitiae primum munus est, ut ne cui quis noceat nisi 245
 lacessitus iniuria, deinde ut communibus pro communibus utatur, privatis ut suis. 21. Sunt autem privata nulla natura, sed aut vetere occupatione, ut qui quondam in vacua venerunt, aut victoria, ut qui bello potiti sunt, aut lege, pactione, condicione, sorte ; ex quo fit, ut ager Ar- 250
 pinas Arpinatium dicatur, Tusculanus Tusculanorum ; similisque est privatarum possessionum discriptio. Ex quo, quia suum cuiusque fit eorum, quae natura fuerant communia, quod cuique obtigit, id quisque teneat ; e quo si quis sibi appetet, violabit ius humanae societatis. 255
 22. Sed quoniam, ut praeclare scriptum est a Platone, non nobis solum nati sumus ortusque nostri partem patria vindicat, partem amici, atque, ut placet Stoicis, quae in terris gignantur, ad usum hominum omnia creari, homines autem hominum causa esse generatos, ut ipsi inter se aliis 260
 alii prodesse possent, in hoc naturam debemus ducem sequi, communes utilitates in medium afferre mutatione officiorum, dando accipiendo, tum artibus, tum opera, tam facultatibus devincire hominum inter homines societatem. 23. Fundamentum autem est iustitiae fides, id 265
 est dictorum conventorumque constantia et veritas. Ex quo, quamquam hoc videbitur fortasse cuipiam durius, tamen audeamus imitari Stoicos, qui studiose exquirunt, unde verba sint ducta, credamusque, quia fiat quod dictum est, appellatam fidem. 270

Sed iniustitiae genera duo sunt, unum eorum, qui

inferunt, alterum eorum, qui ab iis, quibus infertur, si possunt, non propulsant iniuriam. Nam qui iniuste impetum in quempiam facit aut ira aut aliqua perturbatione
 275 incitatus, is quasi manus afferre videtur socio; qui autem non defendit nec obsistit, si potest, iniuriae, tam est in vitio, quam si parentes aut amicos aut patriam deserat.
 24. Atque illae quidem iniuriae, quae nocendi causa de industria inferuntur, saepe a metu proficiscuntur, cum is,
 280 qui nocere alteri cogitat, timet, ne, nisi id fecerit, ipse aliquo afficiatur incommodo. Maximam autem partem ad iniuriam faciendam adgrediuntur, ut adipiscantur ea, quae concupiverunt; in quo vitio latissime patet avaritia.

Riches are sought for use, pleasure, or power. Wealth honestly gained is not to be condemned. Unrestrained desire for rule causes perversion of all law, as shown in the case of Caesar. Men of the greatest talent are often most eager for glory. Wrongs inflicted in sudden outbursts of passion are to be distinguished from premeditated wrongs.

VIII. 25. Expetuntur autem divitiae cum ad usus
 285 vitae necessarios, tum ad perfruendas voluptates. In quibus autem maior est animus, in iis pecuniae cupiditas spectat ad opes et ad gratificandi facultatem, ut nuper M. Crassus negabat ullam satis magnam pecuniam esse ei, qui in re publica princeps vellet esse, cuius fructibus exer-
 290 citum alere non posset. Delectant etiam magnifici apparatus vitaeque cultus cum elegantia et copia; quibus rebus effectum est, ut infinita pecuniae cupiditas esset. Nec vero rei familiaris amplificatio nemini nocens vituperanda est, sed fugienda semper iniuria est. 26. Maxime
 295 autem adducuntur plerique, ut eos iustitiae capiat oblivio, cum in imperiorum, honorum, gloriae cupiditatem inciderunt. Quod enim est apud Ennium :

Núlla sancta sócietas

Néc fides regni ést,

300 id latius patet. Nam quicquid eius modi est, in quo non

possint plures excellere, in eo fit plerumque tanta contentio, ut difficillimum sit servare ‘sanctam societatem.’ Declaravit id modo temeritas C. Caesaris, qui omnia iura divina et humana pervertit propter eum, quem sibi ipse opinionis errore finxerat, principatum. Est autem in hoc 305 genere molestum, quod in maximis animis splendidissimisque ingeniis plerumque existunt honoris, imperii, potentiae, gloriae cupiditates. Quo magis cavendum est, ne quid in eo genere peccetur. 27. Sed in omni iniustitia permultum interest, utrum perturbatione aliqua animi, quae plerumque 310 brevis est et ad tempus, an consulto et cogitata fiat iniuria. Leviora enim sunt ea, quae repentino aliquo motu accidunt, quam ea, quae meditata et praeparata inferuntur. Ac de inferenda quidem iniuria satis dictum est.

Failure to protect others from injury is due either to an unwillingness to incur trouble and expense, or to indolence, or to complete absorption in one's own affairs. Philosophers are in danger of devoting themselves entirely to their own pursuits. Avoid an act if there is any doubt about its justice.

IX. 28. Praetermittendae autem defensionis deserendaeque officii plures solent esse causae; nam aut inimitias aut laborem aut sumptus suscipere nolunt aut etiam negligentia, pigritia, inertia aut suis studiis quibusdam occupationibusve sic impediuntur, ut eos, quos tutari debeant, desertos esse patiantur. Itaque videndum est, ne 320 non satis sit id, quod apud Platonem est in philosophos dictum, quod in veri investigatione versentur quodque ea, quae plerique vehementer expetant, de quibus inter se digladiari soleant, contemnant et pro nihilo putent, propterea iustos esse. Nam alterum [iustitiae genus] asse- 325 quuntur, ut inferenda ne cui noceant iniuria, in alterum incidunt; discendi enim studio impediti, quos tueri debent, deserunt. Itaque eos ne ad rem publicam quidem accessuros putat nisi coactos. Aequius autem erat id voluntate fieri; nam hoc ipsum ita iustum est, quod recte 330

fit, si est voluntarium. 29. Sunt etiam, qui aut studio rei familiaris tuendae aut odio quodam hominum suum se negotium agere dicant nec facere cuiquam videantur iniuriam. Qui altero genere iniustitiae vacant, in alterum
 335 incurrunt; deserunt enim vitae societatem, quia nihil conferunt in eam studii, nihil operae, nihil facultatum.

Quando igitur duobus generibus iniustitiae propositis adiunximus causas utriusque generis easque res ante constituimus, quibus iustitia contineretur, facile, quod
 340 cuiusque temporis officium sit, poterimus, nisi nosmet ipsos valde amabimus, iudicare; est enim difficilis cura rerum alienarum. 30. Quamquam Terentianus ille Chremes 'humani nihil a se alienum putat'; sed tamen, quia magis ea percipimus atque sentimus,
 345 quae nobis ipsis aut prospera aut adversa eveniunt, quam illa, quae ceteris, quae quasi longo intervallo interiecto videmus, aliter de illis ac de nobis indicamus. Quocirca bene praecipunt, qui vetant quicquam agere, quod dubites aequum sit an iniquum. Aequitas enim lucet ipsa per se,
 350 dubitatio cogitationem significat iniuriae.

Duties may vary with circumstances. Justice protects the individual and subserves the common good. The fulfilment of a promise may work harm to one of the parties to it. The case of Theseus and Hippolytus. Promises obtained by force or fraud are not binding. Wrongs between states sometimes arise from too literal interpretation of law.

X. 31. Sed incidunt saepe tempora, cum ea, quae maxime videntur digna esse iusto homine eoque, quem virum bonum dicimus, commutantur fiuntque contraria, ut reddere depositum, facere promissum; quaeque perti-
 355 nent ad veritatem et ad fidem, ea migrare interdum et non servare fit iustum. Referri enim decet ad ea, quae posui principio, fundamenta iustitiae: primum ut ne cui noceatur, deinde ut communi utilitati serviatur. Ea cum tempore commutantur, commutatur officium et non sem-
 360 per est idem. 32. Potest enim accidere promissum ali-

quod et conventum, ut id effici sit inutile vel ei, cui promissum sit, vel ei, qui promiserit. Nam si, ut in fabulis est, Neptunus, quod Theseo promiserat, non fecisset, Theseus Hippolyto filio non esset orbatus; ex tribus enim optatis, ut scribitur, hoc erat tertium, quod 365 de Hippolyti interitu iratus optavit; quo impetrato in maximos luctus incidit. Nec promissa igitur servanda sunt ea, quae sint iis, quibus promiseris, inutilia, nec, si plus tibi ea noceant quam illi prosint, cui promiseris, contra officium est maius anteponi minori; ut, si con- 370 stitueris cuiquam te advocatum in rem praesentem esse venturum atque interim graviter aegrotare filius coeperit, non sit contra officium non facere, quod dixeris, magisque ille, cui promissum sit, ab officio discedat, si se destitutum queratur. Iam illis promissis standum non esse quis non 375 videt, quae coactus quis metu, quae deceptus dolo promiserit? quae quidem pleraque iure praetorio liberantur, non nulla legibus.

33. Existunt etiam saepe iniuriae calumnia quadam et nimis callida, sed malitiosa iuris interpretatione. Ex 380 quo illud 'Summum ius summa iniuria' factum est iam tritum sermone proverbium. Quo in genere etiam in re publica multa peccantur, ut ille, qui, cum triginta dierum essent cum hoste indutiae factae, noctu populabatur agros, quod dierum essent pactae, non noctium 385 indutiae. Ne noster quidem probandus, si verum est Q. Fabium Labeonem seu quem alium (nihil enim habeo praeter auditum) arbitrum Nolanis et Neapolitanis de finibus a. senatu datum, cum ad locum venisset, cum utrisque separatim locutum, ne cupide quid agerent, ne 390 adpetenter, atque ut regredi quam progredi mallent. Id cum utrique fecissent, aliquantum agri in medio relictum est. Itaque illorum finis sic, ut ipsi dixerant, terminavit; in medio relictum quod erat, populo Romano adiudicavit. Decipere hoc quidem est, non iudicare. Quocirca in 395 omni est re fugienda talis sollertia.

Duties toward those by whom we have been wronged. The rights of war. War the last resort; it should be carried on to secure a just peace. The conquered should be spared and protected, if possible. The fetial law concerning a just war. A soldier, after his discharge from service, ought not to take part in battle.

XI. Sunt autem quaedam officia etiam adversus eos servanda, a quibus iniuriam acceperis. Est enim ulciscendi et puniendi modus; atque haud scio an satis sit eum, qui
 400 lacesierit, iniuriae suae paenitere, ut et ipse ne quid tale posthac et ceteri sint ad iniuriam tardiores. **34.** Atque in re publica maxime conservanda sunt iura belli. Nam cum sint duo genera decertandi, unum per disceptationem, alterum per vim, cumque illud proprium sit hominis, hoc
 405 beluarum, confugiendum est ad posterius, si uti non licet superiore. **35.** Quare suscipienda quidem bella sunt ob eam causam, ut sine iniuria in pace vivatur, parta autem victoria conservandi ii, qui non crudeles in bello, non inmanes fuerunt, ut maiores nostri Tusculanos, Aequos,
 410 Volscos, Sabinos, Hernicos in civitatem etiam acceperunt, at Karthaginem et Numantiam funditus sustulerunt; nollem Corinthum, sed credo aliquid secutos, opportunitatem loci maxime, ne posset aliquando ad bellum faciendum locus ipse adhortari. Mea quidem sententia paci,
 415 quae nihil habitura sit insidiarum, semper est consulendum. In quo si mihi esset optemperatum, si non optimam, at aliquam rem publicam, quae nunc nulla est, haberemus. Et cum iis, quos vi deviceris, consulendum est, tum ii, qui armis positis ad imperatorum fidem confugient,
 420 quamvis murum aries percusserit, recipiendi. In quo tantopere apud nostros iustitia culta est, ut ii, qui civitates aut nationes devictas bello in fidem recepissent, earum patroni essent more maiorum. **36.** Ac belli quidem aequitas sanctissime fetiali populi Romani iure perscripta
 425 est. Ex quo intellegi potest nullum bellum esse iustum, nisi quod aut rebus repetitis geratur aut denuntiatum ante sit et indictum. [Popilius imperator tenebat pro-

vinciam, in cuius exercitu Catonis filius tiro militabat. Cum autem Popilio videretur unam dimittere legionem, Catonis quoque filium, qui in eadem legione militabat, 430 dimisit. Sed cum amore pugnandi in exercitu remansisset, Cato ad Popilium scripsit, ut, si eum patitur in exercitu remanere, secundo eum obliget militiae sacramento, quia priore amisso iure cum hostibus pugnare non poterat. Adeo summa erat observatio in bello movendo.] 435

37. M. quidem Catonis senis est epistula ad Marcum filium, in qua scribit se audisse eum missum factum esse a consule, cum in Macedonia bello Persico miles esset. Monet igitur, ut caveat, ne proelium ineat; negat enim ius esse, qui miles non sit, cum hoste pugnare. 440

The meaning of hostis. Wars for conquest and glory should be waged on just grounds and without bitterness. Wars with some nations are for existence, and not merely for supremacy. The saying of Pyrrhus in regard to the ransom of prisoners.

XII. Equidem etiam illud animadverto, quod, qui proprio nomine perduellis esset, is hostis vocaretur, lenitate verbi rei tristitiam mitigatam. Hostis enim apud maiores nostros is dicebatur, quem nunc peregrinum dicimus. Indicant duodecim tabulae: AUT STATUS DIES CUM 445 HOSTE, itemque: ADVERSUS HOSTEM AETERNA AUCTORITAS. Quid ad hanc mansuetudinem addi potest, eum quicum bellum geras, tam molli nomine appellare? Quamquam id nomen durius effecit iam vetustas; a peregrino enim recessit et proprie in eo, qui arma contra 450 ferret, remansit. **38.** Cum vero de imperio decertatur belloque quaeritur gloria, causas omnino subesse tamen oportet easdem, quas dixi paulo ante iustas causas esse bellorum. Sed ea bella, quibus imperii proposita gloria est, minus acerbe gerenda sunt. Ut enim cum civi aliter 455 contendimus, si est inimicus, aliter, si competitor (cum altero certamen honoris et dignitatis est, cum altero capitis et famae), sic cum Celtiberis, cum Cimbris bellum ut

cum inimicis gerebatur, uter esset, non uter imperaret,
 460 cum Latinis, Sabinis, Samnitibus, Poenis, Pyrrho de imperio dimicabatur. Poeni foedifragi, crudelis Hannibal, reliqui iustiores. Pyrrhi quidem de captivis reddendis illa praeclara :

Nec mi aurum posco nec mi pretium dederitis,
 465 Nec cauponantes bellum, sed belligerantes
 Ferro, non auro vitam cernamus utrique.
 Vosne velit an me regnare era, quidve ferat Fors,
 Virtute experiamur. Et hoc simul accipe dictum :
 Quorum virtuti belli fortuna pepercit,
 470 Eorundem libertati me parcere certum est.
 Dono, ducite, doque volentibus cum magnis dis.
 Regalis sane et digna Aeacidarum genere sententia.

Promises to an enemy should be kept. The story of Regulus. The ten prisoners sent to Rome by Hannibal were justly branded by the censors for violating their oath to return. Fabricius did right in surrendering to Pyrrhus the deserter who had offered to poison the king. Slaves to be treated justly. Injustice arising from deceit the worst form of all.

XIII. 39. Atque etiam si quid singuli temporibus adducti hosti promiserunt, est in eo ipso fides conservanda,
 475 ut primo Punico bello Regulus captus a Poenis cum de captivis commutandis Romam missus esset iurassetque se rediturum, primum, ut venit, captivos reddendos in senatu non censuit, deinde, cum retineretur a propinquis et ab amicis, ad supplicium redire maluit quam fidem hosti
 480 datam fallere. 40. [Secundo autem Punico bello post Cannensem pugnam quos decem Hannibal Romam astrictos misit iure iurando se redituros esse, nisi de redimendis iis, qui capti erant, impetrassent, eos omnes censores, quoad quisque eorum vixit, qui peierassent, in aerariis
 485 reliquerunt nec minus illum, qui iuris iurandi fraude culpam invenerat. Cum enim Hannibalis permissu exisset de castris, rediit paulo post, quod se oblitum nescio quid diceret ; deinde egressus e castris iure iurando se solutum putabat, et erat verbis, re non erat. Semper autem in fide

quid senseris, non quid dixeris, cogitandum. Maximum 490
autem exemplum est iustitiae in hostem a maioribus nostris
constitutum, cum a Pyrrho perfuga senatui est pollicitus
se venenum regi daturum et eum necaturum, senatus et
C. Fabricius perfugam Pyrrho dedidit. Ita ne hostis
quidem et potentis et bellum ultro inferentis interitum 495
cum scelere approbavit.] 41. Ac de bellicis quidem offi-
ciis satis dictum est. Meminerimus autem etiam adversus
infimos iustitiam esse servandam. Est autem infima con-
dicio et fortuna servorum, quibus non male praecipunt
qui ita iubent uti, ut mercennariis : operam exigendam, 500
iusta praebenda. Cum autem duobus modis, id est aut vi
aut fraude, fiat iniuria, fraus quasi vulpeculae, vis leonis
videtur ; utrumque homine alienissimum, sed fraus odio
digna maiore. Totius autem iniustitiae nulla capitalior
quam eorum, qui tum, cum maxime fallunt, id agunt, ut 505
viri boni esse videantur. De iustitia satis dictum.

Liberality ought not to prove harmful to the receiver or to others.

Sulla and Caesar confiscated the property of citizens to give it to their own followers. Our generosity ought not to exceed our means. If it does, it will compel us to defraud certain ones of that which rightfully belongs to them. The merit of the recipient must always be considered.

XIV. 42. Deinceps, ut erat propositum, de benefi-
centia ac de liberalitate dicatur, qua quidem nihil est
naturae hominis accommodatius, sed habet multas cau-
tiones. Videndum est enim, primum ne obsit benignitas 510
et iis ipsis, quibus benigne videbitur fieri, et ceteris,
deinde ne maior benignitas sit quam facultates, tum
ut pro dignitate cuique tribuatur ; id enim est iustitiae
fundamentum, ad quam haec referenda sunt omnia.
Nam et qui gratificantur cuiquam, quod obsit illi, cui 515
prodesse velle videantur, non benefici neque liberales,
sed perniciosi adsentatores iudicandi sunt, et qui aliis
nocent, ut in alios liberales sint, in eadem sunt in-
iustitia, ut si in suam rem aliena convertant. 43. Sunt

- 520 autem multi, et quidem cupidi splendoris et gloriae, qui eripiunt aliis, quod aliis largiantur, iique arbitrantur se beneficos in suos amicos visum iri, si locupletent eos quacumque ratione. Id autem tantum abest ab officio, ut nihil magis officio possit esse contrarium. Videndum est
- 525 igitur, ut ea liberalitate utamur, quae prosit amicis, noceat nemini. Quare L. Sullae, C. Caesaris pecuniarum translatio a iustis dominis ad alienos non debet liberalis videri; nihil est enim liberale, quod non idem iustum.
44. Alter locus erat cautionis, ne benignitas maior esset
- 530 quam facultates, quod, qui benigniores volunt esse, quam res patitur, primum in eo peccant, quod iniuriosi sunt in proximos; quas enim copias his et suppeditari aequius est et relinquere, eas transferunt ad alienos. Inest autem in tali liberalitate cupiditas plerumque rapiendi et auferendi
- 535 per iniuriam, ut ad largiendum suppetant copiae. Videre etiam licet plerosque non tam natura liberales quam quadam gloria ductos, ut benefici videantur, facere multa, quae proficisci ab ostentatione magis quam a voluntate videantur. Talis autem simulatio vanitati est coniunctior
- 540 quam aut liberalitati aut honestati. 45. Tertium est propositum, ut in beneficentia dilectus esset dignitatis; in quo et mores eius erunt spectandi, in quem beneficium conferetur, et animus erga nos et communitas ac societas vitae et ad nostras utilitates officia ante conlata; quae ut
- 545 concurrant omnia, optabile est; si minus, plures causae maioresque ponderis plus habebunt.

Each one ought to be cherished according to his character. We should give most to those by whom we are most highly regarded. The duty of gratitude. Liberality may be exercised either in bestowing favors or in requiting them. Kindness from sudden impulse is less deserving than that which is based on judgment and reason. The right rule in giving.

XV. 46. Quoniam autem vivitur non cum perfectis hominibus planeque sapientibus, sed cum iis, in quibus praeclare agitur si sunt simulacra virtutis, etiam hoc in-

tellegendum puto, neminem omnino esse neglegendum, 550
in quo aliqua significatio virtutis appareat, colendum
autem esse ita quemque maxime, ut quisque maxime
virtutibus his lenioribus erit ornatus, modestia, tem-
perantia, hac ipsa, de qua multa iam dicta sunt, iustitia.
Nam fortis animus et magnus in homine non perfecto nec 555
sapiente ferventior plerumque est, illae virtutes bonum
virum videntur potius attingere. Atque haec in moribus.

47. De benivolentia autem, quam quisque habeat erga
nos, primum illud est in officio, ut ei plurimum tribuamus,
a quo plurimum diligamur, sed benivolentiam non adule- 560
scentulorum more ardore quodam amoris, sed stabilitate
potius et constantia iudicemus. Sin erunt merita, ut non
ineunda, sed referenda sit gratia, maior quaedam cura
adhibenda est; nullum enim officium referenda gratia magis
necessarium est. 48. Quodsi ea, quae utenda acceperis, 565
maiore mensura, si modo possis, iubet reddere Hesiodus,
quidnam beneficio provocati facere debemus? an imitari
agros fertiles, qui multo plus efferunt quam acceperunt?
Etenim si in eos, quos speramus nobis profuturos, non
dubitamus officia conferre, quales in eos esse debemus, qui 570
iam profuerunt? Nam cum duo genera liberalitatis sint,
unum dandi beneficii, alterum reddendi, demus necne, in
nostra potestate est, non reddere viro bono non licet,
modo id facere possit sine iniuria. 49. Acceptorum autem
beneficiorum sunt dilectus habendi, nec dubium, quin 575
maximo cuique plurimum debeatur. In quo tamen in
primis, quo quisque animo, studio, benivolentia fecerit,
ponderandum est. Multi enim faciunt multa temeritate
quodam sine iudicio vel morbo in omnes vel repentino
quodam quasi vento impetu animi incitati; quae bene- 580
ficia aequae magna non sunt habenda atque ea, quae iudicio,
considerate constanterque delata sunt. Sed in collocando
beneficio et in referenda gratia, si cetera paria sunt, hoc
maxime officii est, ut quisque maxime opis indigeat, ita ei
potissimum opitulari; quod contra fit a plerisque; a quo 585

enim plurimum sperant, etiamsi ille iis non eget, tamen ei potissimum inserviunt.

The interests of society are best served by grading our gifts according to the different forms of relationship. Reason and speech constitute the first bond of human society. Duties based upon the principle of human brotherhood. Illustration from Ennius.

XVI. 50. Optime autem societas hominum coniunctio-
que servabitur, si, ut quisque erit coniunctissimus, ita in
590 eum benignitatis plurimum conferetur. Sed, quae naturae
principia sint communitalis et societatis humanae, repe-
tendum videtur altius; est enim primum, quod cernitur
in universi generis humani societate. Eius autem vin-
culum est ratio et oratio, quae docendo, discendo, com-
595 municando, disceptando, iudicando conciliat inter se
homines coniungitque naturali quadam societate; neque
ulla re longius absumus a natura ferarum, in quibus inesse
fortitudinem saepe dicimus, ut in equis, in leonibus
iustitiam, aequitatem, bonitatem non dicimus; sunt enim
600 rationis et orationis expertes. 51. Ac latissime quidem
patens hominibus inter ipsos, omnibus inter omnes socie-
tas haec est; in qua omnium rerum, quas ad communem
hominum usum natura genuit, est servanda communitas,
ut, quae discripta sunt legibus et iure civili, haec ita tene-
605 antur, ut sit constitutum legibus ipsis, cetera sic observen-
tur, ut in Graecorum proverbio est, amicorum esse
communia omnia. Omnium autem communia homi-
num videntur ea, quae sunt generis eius, quod ab Ennio
positum in una re transferri in permultas potest:

610 Homó qui erranti cómiter monstrát viam,
Quasi lúmen de suo lúmíne accendát, facit.
Nihiló minus ipsi lúcet, cum illi accénderit.

52. Una ex re satis praecipit, ut, quicquid sine detrimento
commodari possit, id tribuatur vel ignoto; ex quo sunt
615 illa communia: non prohibere aqua profluente,
pati ab igne ignem capere, si qui velit, con-

silium fidele deliberanti dare, quae sunt iis utilia, qui accipiunt, danti non molesta. Quare et his utendum est et semper aliquid ad communem utilitatem afferendum. Sed quoniam copiae parvae singulorum sunt, 620 eorum autem, qui his egeant, infinita est multitudo, vulgaris liberalitas referenda est ad illum Enni finem: 'Nihilo minus ipsi lucet,' ut facultas sit, qua in nostros simus liberales.

The different degrees of relationship based upon race, language, country, and family. Marriage and the family the beginning of the city and state. Friendship a strong bond of union. But in case of conflict, our country has the strongest claim upon us, followed by our parents, children, and kinsmen. The duties of friendship.

XVII. 53. Gradus autem plures sunt societatis homi- 625 num. Ut enim ab illa infinita discedatur, propior est eiusdem gentis, nationis, linguae, qua maxime homines coniunguntur; interius etiam est eiusdem esse civitatis; multa enim sunt civibus inter se communia, forum, fana, porticus, viae, leges, iura, iudicia, suffragia, consuetudi- 630 nes praeterea et familiaritates multisque cum multis res rationesque contractae. Artior vero colligatio est societatis propinquorum; ab illa enim inmensa societate humani generis in exiguum angustumque concluditur. 54. Nam cum sit hoc natura commune animantium, ut 635 habeant libidinem procreandi, prima societas in ipso coniugio est, proxima in liberis, deinde una domus, communia omnia; id autem est principium urbis et quasi seminarium rei publicae. Sequuntur fratrum coniunctiones, post consobrinorum sobrinorumque, qui cum una 640 domo iam capi non possint, in alias domos tamquam in colonias exeunt. Sequuntur conubia et adfinitates, ex quibus etiam plures propinqui; quae propagatio et suboles origo est rerum publicarum. 55. Sanguinis autem coniunctio et benivolentia devincit homines et caritate; 645 magnum est enim eadem habere monumenta maiorum,

eisdem uti sacris, sepulcra habere communia. Sed omnium societatum nulla praestantior est, nulla firmior, quam cum viri boni moribus similes sunt familiaritate coniuncti ;
650 illud enim honestum, quod saepe dicimus, etiam si in alio cernimus, tamen nos movet atque illi, in quo id inesse videtur, amicos facit. **56.** Et quamquam omnis virtus nos ad se allicit facitque, ut eos diligamus, in quibus ipsa inesse videatur, tamen iustitia et liberalitas id maxime
655 efficit. Nihil autem est amabilius nec copulativius quam morum similitudo bonorum ; in quibus enim eadem studia sunt, eadem voluntates, in iis fit ut aequae quisque altero delectetur ac se ipso, efficiturque id, quod Pythagoras vult in amicitia, ut unus fiat ex pluribus. Magna etiam illa
660 communitas est, quae conficitur ex beneficiis ultro et citro datis acceptis, quae et mutua et grata dum sunt, inter quos ea sunt, firma devinciuntur societate. **57.** Sed cum omnia ratione animoque lustraris, omnium societatum nulla est gravior, nulla carior quam ea, quae cum re publica
665 est uni cuique nostrum. Cari sunt parentes, cari liberi, propinqui, familiares, sed omnes omnium caritates patria una complexa est, pro qua quis bonus dubitet mortem oppetere, si ei sit profuturus ? Quo est detestabilior istorum inmanitas, qui lacerarunt omni scelere patriam
670 et in ea funditus delenda occupati et sunt et fuerunt. **58.** Sed si contentio quaedam et comparatio fiat, quibus plurimum tribuendum sit officii, principes sint patria et parentes, quorum beneficiis maximis obligati sumus, proximi liberi totaque domus, quae spectat in nos solos
675 neque aliud ullum potest habere perfugium, deinceps bene convenientes propinqui, quibuscum communis etiam fortuna plerumque est. Quam ob rem necessaria praesidia vitae debentur iis maxime, quos ante dixi, vita autem victusque communis, consilia, sermones, cohortationes,
680 consolationes, interdum etiam obiurgationes in amicitiiis vigent maxime, estque ea iucundissima amicitia, quam similitudo morum coniugavit.

In bestowing favors, each case should be carefully considered. Relationship not always the determining principle. A neighbor should be aided in harvesting, a kinsman in court. Duties must be carefully weighed. Practice should illustrate principles. Fortitude, the third cardinal virtue, is the most brilliant of all.

XVIII. 59. Sed in his omnibus officiis tribuendis videndum erit, quid cuique maxime necesse sit, et quid quisque vel sine nobis aut possit consequi aut non possit. 685 Ita non iidem erunt necessitudinum gradus, qui temporum; suntque officia, quae aliis magis quam aliis debeantur; ut vicinum citius adiuveris in fructibus percipiendis quam aut fratrem aut familiarem, at, si lis in iudicio sit, propinquum potius et amicum quam vicinum defenderis. Haec 690 igitur et talia circumspicienda sunt in omni officio [et consuetudo exercitatioque capienda], ut boni ratiocinatores officiorum esse possimus et addendo deducendoque videre, quae reliqui summa fiat, ex quo, quantum cuique debeatur, intellegas. 60. Sed ut nec medici nec imperatores nec 695 oratores, quamvis artis praecepta perceperint, quicquam magna laude dignum sine usu et exercitatione consequi possunt, sic officii conservandi praecepta traduntur illa quidem, ut facimus ipsi, sed rei magnitudo usum quoque exercitationemque desiderat. Atque ab iis rebus, quae 700 sunt in iure societatis humanae, quem ad modum ducatur honestum, ex quo aptum est officium, satis fere diximus.

61. Intellegendum autem est, cum proposita sint genera quattuor, e quibus honestas officiumque manaret, splendidissimum videri, quod animo magno elatoque 705 humanasque res despiciente factum sit. Itaque in probris maxime in promptu est, si quid tale dici potest:

‘Vós enim, iuvenes, ánimum geritis múliebrem,
ílla virgó viri’

et si quid eius modi:

Salmácida, spolia síne sudore et sáanguine. 710

Contraque in laudibus, quae magno animo et fortiter excellenterque gesta sunt, ea nescio quo modo quasi pleniore

ore laudamus. Hinc rhetorum campus de Marathone, Salamine, Plataeis, Thermopylis, Leuctris, *hinc* noster
 715 Cocles, hinc Decii, hinc Cn. et P. Scipiones, hinc M. Marcellus, innumerabiles alii, maximeque ipse populus Romanus animi magnitudine excellit. Declaratur autem studium bellicae gloriae, quod statuas quoque videmus ornatu fere militari.

Fortitude is based on justice. Defined by the Stoics. Distinguished from mere boldness. The charge that ambition originates in fortitude and leads to acts of injustice. A truly great soul strives for justice, and not for glory.

720 XIX. 62. Sed ea animi elatio, quae cernitur in periculis et laboribus, si iustitia vacat pugnatque non pro salute communi, sed pro suis commodis, in vitio est; non modo enim id virtutis non est, sed est potius inmanitatis omnem humanitatem repellentis. Itaque probe definitur
 725 a Stoicis fortitudo, cum eam virtutem esse dicunt propugnans pro aequitate. Quocirca nemo, qui fortitudinis gloriam consecutus est insidiis et malitia, laudem est adeptus; nihil enim honestum esse potest, quod iustitia vacat. 63. Praeclarum igitur illud Platonis: ‘Non,’
 730 inquit, ‘solum scientia, quae est remota ab iustitia, calliditas potius quam sapientia est appellanda, verum etiam animus paratus ad periculum, si sua cupiditate, non utilitate communi inpellitur, audaciae potius nomen
 735 habeat quam fortitudinis.’ Itaque viros fortes et magnanimos eosdem bonos et simplices, veritatis amicos minimeque fallaces esse volumus; quae sunt ex media laude iustitiae. 64. Sed illud odiosum est, quod in hac elatione et magnitudine animi facillime pertinacia et
 740 nimia cupiditas principatus innascitur. Ut enim apud Platonem est, omnem morem Lacedaemoniorum inflammatum esse cupiditate vincendi, sic, ut quisque animi magnitudine maxime excellet, ita

maxime vult princeps omnium vel potius solus esse. Difficile autem est, cum praestare omnibus concupieris, servare 745
aequitatem, quae est iustitiae maxime propria. Ex quo fit, ut neque disceptatione vinci se nec ullo publico ac legitimo iure patiantur, existuntque in re publica plerumque largitores et factiosi, ut opes quam maximas consequantur et sint vi potius superiores quam iustitia pares. 750
Sed quo difficilius, hoc praeclarius; nullum enim est tempus, quod iustitia vacare debeat. 65. Fortes igitur et magnanimi sunt habendi, non qui faciunt, sed qui propulsant iniuriam. Vera autem et sapiens animi magnitudo honestum illud, quod maxime natura sequitur, in factis 755
positum, non in gloria iudicat principemque se esse mavult quam videri; etenim qui ex errore imperitae multitudinis pendet, hic in magnis viris non est habendus. Facillime autem ad res iniustas inpellitur, ut quisque altissimo animo est, gloriae cupiditate; qui locus est sane lubricus, quod 760
vix invenitur, qui laboribus susceptis periculisque aditis non quasi mercedem rerum gestarum desideret gloriam.

Fortitude shown: First, in disregarding temporal conditions; secondly, in performing difficult deeds. The second is more glorious; the first, the efficient cause of greatness. This appears in the right estimate of the good and in tranquillity of mind. This latter is essential to dignity of character. Many seek it in a life of pleasure.

XX. 66. Omnino fortis animus et magnus duabus rebus maxime cernitur, quarum una in rerum externarum despicientia ponitur, cum persuasum est nihil hominem, 765
nisi quod honestum decorumque sit, aut admirari aut optare aut expetere oportere nullique neque homini neque perturbationi animi nec fortunae succumbere. Altera est res, ut, cum ita sis affectus animo, ut supra dixi, res geras magnas illas quidem et maxime utiles, sed [ut] vehementer 770
arduas plenasque laborum et periculorum cum vitae, tum multarum rerum, quae ad vitam pertinent. 67. Harum rerum duarum splendor omnis, amplitudo, addo etiam

utilitatem, in posteriore est, causa autem et ratio efficiens
775 magnos viros in priore ; in eo est enim illud, quod excellentes animos et humana contemnentes facit. Id autem ipsum cernitur in duobus, si et solum id, quod honestum sit, bonum iudices et ab omni animi perturbatione liber sis. Nam et ea, quae eximia plerisque et praeclara videntur,
780 tur, parva ducere eaque ratione stabili firmaque contemnere fortis animi magnique ducendum est, et ea, quae videntur acerba, quae multa et varia in hominum vita fortunaque versantur, ita ferre, ut nihil a statu naturae discedas, nihil a dignitate sapientis, robusti animi est
785 magnaeque constantiae. **68.** Non est autem consentaneum, qui metu non frangatur, eum frangi cupiditate nec, qui invictum se a labore praestiterit, vinci a voluptate. Quam ob rem et haec vitanda et pecuniae fugienda cupiditas ; nihil enim est tam angusti animi tamque parvi
790 quam amare divitias, nihil honestius magnificentiusque quam pecuniam contemnere, si non habeas, si habeas, ad beneficentiam liberalitatemque conferre. Cavenda etiam est gloriae cupiditas, ut supra dixi ; eripit enim libertatem, pro qua magnanimis viris omnis debet esse contentio. Nec
795 vero imperia expetenda ac potius aut non accipienda interdum aut deponenda non numquam. **69.** Vacandum autem omni est animi perturbatione, cum cupiditate et metu, tum etiam aegritudine et voluptate nimia et iracundia, ut tranquillitas animi et securitas adsit, quae affert cum constantiam, tum etiam dignitatem. Multi autem et sunt et fuerunt, qui eam, quam dico, tranquillitatem expetentes a negotiis publicis se removerint ad otiumque perfugerint ; in his et nobilissimi philosophi longeque principes et quidam homines severi et graves nec populi nec principum
805 mores ferre potuerunt, vixeruntque non nulli in agris delectati re sua familiari. **70.** His idem propositum fuit, quod regibus, ut ne qua re egerent, ne cui parerent, libertate uterentur, cuius proprium est sic vivere, ut velis.

Men of leisure live an easy and safe life ; public men, a glorious one.

Philosophers, and men who have retired from public life for serious reasons, may be excused from holding office. But men naturally qualified for it ought to enter public life. Statesmen and philosophers ought to preserve a calm mind. The former should avoid both despondency and over-confidence.

XXI. Quare cum hoc commune sit potentiae cupi- 810
dorum cum iis, quos dixi, otiosis, alteri se adipisci id posse
arbitrantur, si opes magnas habeant, alteri, si contenti
sint et suo et parvo. In quo neutrorum omnino contem-
nenda sententia est, sed et faciliior et tutior et minus aliis
gravis aut molesta vita est otiosorum, fructuosior autem 815
hominum generi et ad claritatem amplitudinemque aptior
eorum, qui se ad rem publicam et ad magnas res gerendas
accommodaverunt. 71. Quapropter et iis forsitan conce-
dendum sit rem publicam non capessentibus, qui excellenti
ingenio doctrinae sese dediderunt, et iis, qui aut valetudi- 820
nis inbecillitate aut aliqua graviore causa impediti a re
publica recesserunt, cum eius administrandae potestatem
aliis laudemque concederent. Quibus autem talis nulla
sit causa, si despiciere se dicant ea, quae plerique mirentur,
imperia et magistratus, iis non modo non laudi, verum 825
etiam vitio dandum puto ; quorum iudicium in eo, quod
gloriam contemnant et pro nihilo putent, difficile factu
est non probare ; sed videntur labores et molestias, tum
offensionum et repulsarum quasi quandam ignominiam
timere et infamiam. Sunt enim, qui in rebus contrariis 830
parum sibi constant, voluptatem severissime contemnant,
in dolore sint molliores, gloriam neglegant, frangantur
infamia, atque ea quidem non satis constanter. 72. Sed
iis, qui habent a natura adiumenta rerum gerendarum,
abiecta omni cunctatione adipiscendi magistratus et ge- 835
renda res publica est ; nec enim aliter aut regi civitas aut
declarari animi magnitudo potest. Capessentibus autem
rem publicam nihilo minus quam philosophis, haud scio
an magis etiam et magnificentia et despicientia adhibenda

840 est rerum humanarum, quam saepe dico, et tranquillitas
 animi atque securitas, siquidem nec anxii futuri sunt et
 cum gravitate constantiaque victuri. **73.** Quae faciliora
 sunt philosophis, quo minus multa patent in eorum vita,
 quae fortuna feriat, et quo minus multis rebus egent, et
 845 quia, si quid adversi eveniat, tam graviter cadere non pos-
 sunt. Quocirca non sine causa maiores motus animorum
 concitantur maioraque *studia* efficiendi rem publicam
 gerentibus quam quietis, quo magis iis et magnitudo est
 animi adhibenda et vacuitas ab angoribus. Ad rem
 850 gerendam autem qui accedit, caveat, ne id modo consi-
 deret, quam illa res honesta sit, sed etiam ut habeat effi-
 endi facultatem; in quo ipso considerandum est, ne aut
 temere desperet propter ignaviam aut nimis confidat
 propter cupiditatem. In omnibus autem negotiis, prius
 855 quam adgrediare, adhibenda est praeparatio diligens.

*The opinion that military glory is greater than civil must be refuted.
 Solon did more for Athens than Themistocles. Lycurgus accom-
 plished more than Pausanias and Lysander. Similar examples
 from Roman history. Cicero's service in suppressing Catiline's
 conspiracy. Pompey's tribute to Cicero.*

XXII. **74.** Sed cum plerique arbitrentur res bellicas
 maiores esse quam urbanas, minuenda est haec opinio.
 Multi enim bella saepe quaesiverunt propter gloriae cupidi-
 tatem, atque id in magnis animis ingeniisque plerumque
 860 contingit, eoque magis, si sunt ad rem militarem apti
 et cupidi bellorum gerendorum; vere autem si volumus
 iudicare, multae res extiterunt urbanae maiores clario-
 resque quam bellicae. **75.** Quamvis enim Themistocles
 iure laudetur et sit eius nomen quam Solonis inlustrius
 865 citeturque Salamis clarissimae testis victoriae, quae ante-
 ponatur consilio Solonis ei, quo primum constituit Areo-
 pagitas, non minus praeclarum hoc quam illud iudicandum
 est; illud enim semel profuit, hoc semper proderit civitati;
 hoc consilio leges Atheniensium, hoc maiorum instituta
 870 servantur; et Themistocles quidem nihil dixerit, in quo

ipse Areopagum adiuverit, at ille vere *a* se adiutum Themistoclem; est enim bellum gestum consilio senatus eius, qui a Solone erat constitutus. 76. Licet eadem de Pausania Lysandroque dicere, quorum rebus gestis quamquam imperium Lacedaemoniis *partum* putatur, tamen ne 875 minima quidem ex parte Lycurgi legibus et disciplinae conferendi sunt; quin etiam ob has ipsas causas et parentiores habuerunt exercitus et fortiores. Mihi quidem neque pueris nobis M. Scaurus C. Mario neque, cum versaremur in re publica, Q. Catulus Cn. Pompeio cedere 880 videbatur; parvi enim sunt foris arma, nisi est consilium domi; nec plus Africanus, singularis et vir et imperator, in excindenda Numantia rei publicae profuit quam eodem tempore P. Nasica privatus, cum Ti. Gracchum interemit; quamquam haec quidem res non solum ex do- 885 mestica est ratione (attingit etiam bellicam, quoniam vi manuque confecta est), sed tamen id ipsum est gestum consilio urbano sine exercitu. 77. Illud autem optimum est, in quod invadi solere ab improbis et invidis audio:

Cedant arma togae, concedat laurea laudi. 890

Ut enim alios omittam, nobis rem publicam gubernantibus nonne togae arma cesserunt? neque enim periculum in re publica fuit gravius umquam nec maius otium. Ita consiliis diligentiaque nostra celeriter de manibus audacissimorum civium delapsa arma ipsa ceciderunt. Quae res 895 igitur gesta umquam in bello tanta? qui triumphus conferendus? 78. Licet enim mihi, Marce fili, apud te gloriari, ad quem et hereditas huius gloriae et factorum imitatio pertinet. Mihi quidem certe vir abundans bellicis laudibus, Cn. Pompeius, multis audientibus hoc tribuit, 900 ut diceret frustra se triumphum tertium deportaturum fuisse, nisi meo in rem publicam beneficio, ubi triumpharet, esset habiturus. Sunt igitur domesticae fortitudines non inferiores militaribus; in quibus plus etiam quam in his operae studique ponendum est. 905

Fortitude requires strength of mind, but the body should also be trained to obey reason and endure hardship. The influence of statesmen in warlike affairs. Cato and the Third Punic war. War should be undertaken only to secure lasting peace. Presence of mind characteristic of fortitude. Wisdom and foresight needful. Death in battle better than slavery and disgrace.

XXIII. 79. Omnino illud honestum, quod ex animo excelso magnificoque quaerimus, animi efficitur, non corporis viribus. Exercendum tamen corpus et ita afficiendum est, ut oboedire consilio rationique possit in
 910 exsequendis negotiis et in labore tolerando. Honestum autem id, quod exquirimus, totum est positum in animi cura et cogitatione; in quo non minorem utilitatem afferunt, qui togati rei publicae praesunt, quam qui bellum gerunt. Itaque eorum consilio saepe aut non suscepta
 915 aut confecta bella sunt, non numquam etiam inlata, ut M. Catonis bellum tertium Punicum, in quo etiam mortui valuit auctoritas. 80. Quare expetenda quidem magis est decernendi ratio quam decertandi fortitudo, sed cavendum, ne id bellandi magis fuga quam utilitatis ratione faciamus.
 920 Bellum autem ita suscipiatur, ut nihil aliud nisi pax quaesita videatur.

Fortis vero animi et constantis est non perturbari in rebus asperis nec tumultuantem de gradu deici, ut dicitur, sed praesenti animo uti et consilio nec a ratione discedere.
 925 81. Quamquam hoc animi, illud etiam ingenii magni est, praecipere cogitatione futura et aliquanto ante constituere, quid accidere possit in utramque partem, et quid agendum sit, cum quid evenerit, nec committere, ut aliquando dicendum sit: 'Non putaram.' Haec sunt
 930 opera magni animi et excelsi et prudentia consilioque fidentis; temere autem in acie versari et manu cum hoste configere immane quiddam et beluarum simile est; sed cum tempus necessitasque postulat, decertandum manu est et mors servituti turpitudinique anteponenda.

A great commander avoids cruelty after victory and spares all but the guilty. Cowardice and rashness alike to be shunned. We ought to be more ready to meet danger than to expose our country to it. Callicratidas and Cleombrotus were willing to sacrifice life and property, but not their fame, for their country. Maximus risked all.

XXIV. 82. De evertendis autem diripiendisque urbibus 935
valde considerandum est ne quid temere, ne quid crudeliter. Idque est magni viri, rebus agitatis punire sones, multitudinem conservare, in omni fortuna recta atque honesta retinere. Ut enim sunt, quem ad modum supra dixi, qui urbanis rebus bellicas anteponant, sic reperias 940 multos, quibus periculosa et calida consilia quietis et cogitatis splendidiora et maiora videantur. 83. Numquam omnino periculi fuga committendum est, ut inbelles timidique videamur, sed fugiendum illud etiam, ne offeramus nos periculis sine causa, quo esse nihil potest 945 stultius. Quapropter in adeundis periculis consuetudo imitanda medicorum est, qui leviter aegrotantes leniter curant, gravioribus autem morbis periculosas curationes et ancipites adhibere coguntur. Quare in tranquillo tempestatem adversam optare dementis est, subvenire autem 950 tempestati quavis ratione sapientis, eoque magis, si plus adipiscare re explicata boni quam addubitata mali. Periculosae autem rerum actiones partim iis sunt, qui eas suscipiunt, partim rei publicae. Itemque alii de vita, alii de gloria et benivolentia civium in discrimen vocantur. 955 Promptiores igitur debemus esse ad nostra pericula quam ad communia dimicareque paratius de honore et gloria quam de ceteris commodis.

84. Inveni autem multi sunt, qui non modo pecuniam, sed etiam vitam profundere pro patria parati essent, iidem 960 gloriae iacturam ne minimam quidem facere vellent, ne re publica quidem postulante; ut Callicratidas, qui cum Lacedaemoniorum dux fuisset Peloponnesiaco bello multaque fecisset egregie, vertit ad extremum omnia, cum

965 consilio non paruit eorum, qui classem ab Arginusis
removendam nec cum Atheniensibus dimicandum puta-
bant; quibus ille respondit Lacedaemonios classe illa
amissa aliam parare posse, se fugere sine suo dedecore
non posse. Atque haec quidem Lacedaemoniis plaga
970 mediocris, illa pestifera, qua, cum Cleombrotus invidiam
timens temere cum Epaminonda confluxisset, Lacedae-
moniorum opes corruerunt. Quanto Q. Maximus melius!
de quo Ennius:

Unus homo nobis cunctando restituit rem.

975 Noenum rumores ponebat ante salutem.

Ergo plusque magisque viri nunc gloria claret.

Quod genus peccandi vitandum est etiam in rebus urbanis.
Sunt enim, qui, quod sentiunt, etsi optimum sit, tamen
invidiae metu non audeant dicere.

*Public officials should prefer the public welfare to their own, and
should care for the whole state and not for a part merely. Parti-
sanship leads to sedition and discord. The experience of Athens
and Rome. In a republic, courtesy toward all and strictness in
administration are demanded. Punishment should be justly
and impartially inflicted.*

980 XXV. 85. Omnino qui rei publicae praefuturi sunt,
duo Platonis praecepta teneant, unum, ut utilitatem
civium sic tueantur, ut, quaecumque agunt, ad eam
referant obliti commodorum suorum, alterum, ut totum
corpus rei publicae curent, ne, dum partem aliquam
985 tuentur, reliquas deserant. Ut enim tutela, sic procu-
ratio rei publicae ad eorum utilitatem, qui commissi sunt,
non ad eorum, quibus commissa est, gerenda est; qui
autem parti civium consulunt, partem neglegunt, rem
perniciosissimam in civitatem inducunt, seditionem atque
990 discordiam; ex quo evenit, ut alii populares, alii studiosi
optimi cuiusque videantur, pauci universorum. 86. Hinc
apud Atheniensis magnae discordiae, in nostra re publica
non solum seditiones, sed etiam pestifera bella civilia;
quae gravis et fortis civis et in re publica dignus principatu

fugiet atque oderit tradetque se totum rei publicae neque 995
opes aut potentiam consecrabitur totamque eam sic tue-
bitur, ut omnibus consulat; nec vero criminibus falsis
in odium aut invidiam quemquam vocabit omninoque ita
iustitiae honestatique adhaerescet, ut, dum ea conservet,
quamvis graviter offendat mortemque oppetat potius quam 1000
deserat illa quae dixi. 87. Miserrima omnino est ambitio
honorumque contentio, de qua praeclare apud eundem est
Platonem, ‘similiter facere eos, qui inter se
contenderent, uter potius rem publicam
administraret, ut si nautae certarent, quis 1005
eorum potissimum gubernaret.’ Idemque
praecipit, ut ‘eos adversarios existimemus, qui
arma contra ferant, non eos, qui suo iu-
dicio tueri rem publicam velint,’ qualis fuit
inter P. Africanum et Q. Metellum sine acerbitate dis- 1010
sensio.

88. Nec vero audiendi, qui graviter inimicis irascen-
dum putabunt idque magnanimi et fortis viri esse cense-
bunt; nihil enim laudabilius, nihil magno et praeclaro viro
dignius placabilitate atque clementia. In liberis vero 1015
populis et in iuris aequabilitate exercenda etiam est faci-
litas et altitudo animi, quae dicitur, ne, si irascamur aut
intempestive accedentibus aut impudenter rogantibus, in
morositatem inutilem et odiosam incidamus. Et tamen
ita probanda est mansuetudo atque clementia, ut adhibea- 1020
tur rei publicae causa severitas, sine qua administrari
civitas non potest. Omnis autem et animadversio et casti-
gatio contumelia vacare debet neque ad eius, qui punitur
aliquem aut verbis castigat, sed ad rei publicae utilita-
tem referri. 89. Cavendum est etiam, ne maior poena 1025
quam culpa sit, et ne isdem de causis alii plectantur, alii
ne appellentur quidem. Prohibenda autem maxime est ira
in puniendo; numquam enim, iratus qui accedet ad poe-
nam, mediocritatem illam tenebit, quae est inter nimium
et parum, quae placet Peripateticis, et recte placet, modo ne 1030

laudarent iracundiam et dicerent utiliter a natura datam. Illa vero omnibus in rebus repudianda est optandumque, ut ii, qui praesunt rei publicae, legum similes sint, quae ad puniendum non iracundia, sed aequitate ducuntur.

Arrogance in prosperity should be avoided and an even temper maintained. The examples of Socrates, Laelius, and Philip. In prosperity we should also listen to friends and close our ears to flatterers. Statesmen have the widest field of influence. Philosophers, and citizens who use their wealth for the benefit of others, render valuable service to the state.

- 1035 XXVI. 90. Atque etiam in rebus prosperis et ad voluntatem nostram fluentibus superbiam magnopere, fastidium arrogantiamque fugiamus. Nam ut adversas res, sic secundas inmoderate ferre levitatis est, praeclaraque est aequabilitas in omni vita et idem semper vultus
- 1040 eademque frons, ut de Socrate itemque de C. Laelio accepimus. Philippum quidem, Macedonum regem, rebus gestis et gloria superatum a filio, facilitate et humanitate video superiorem fuisse; itaque alter semper magnus, alter saepe turpissimus; ut recte praecipere videantur, qui
- 1045 monent, ut, quanto superiores simus, tanto nos geramus summissius. Panaetius quidem Africanum, auditorem et familiarem suum, solitum ait dicere, 'ut equos propter crebras contentiones proeliorum ferocitate exultantes domitoribus tradere soleant, ut iis facilioribus possint uti, sic
- 1050 homines secundis rebus ecfrenatos sibi praeidentes tamquam in gyrum rationis et doctrinae duci oportere, ut perspicerent rerum humanarum inbecillitatem varietatemque fortunae.'
- 1055 91. Atque etiam in secundis rebus maxime est utendum consilio amicorum iisque maior etiam quam ante tribuenda auctoritas. Isdemque temporibus cavendum est, ne assentatoribus patefaciamus auris neve adulari nos sinamus, in quo falli facile
- 1060 est; tales enim nos esse putamus, ut iure laudemur; ex

quo nascuntur innumerabilia peccata, cum homines inflati opinionibus turpiter irridentur et in maximis versantur erroribus. Sed haec quidem hactenus. 92. Illud autem sic est iudicandum, maximas geri res et maximi animi ab iis, qui res publicas regant, quod earum administratio latissime pateat ad plurimosque pertineat; esse autem magni animi et fuisse multos etiam in vita otiosa, qui aut investigarent aut conarentur magna quaedam seseque suarum rerum finibus continerent aut interiecti inter philosophos et eos, qui rem publicam administrarent, delectarentur re sua familiari non eam quidem omni ratione exaggerantes neque excludentes ab eius usu suos potiusque et amicis inpertientes et rei publicae, si quando usus esset. Quae primum bene parta sit nullo neque turpi quaestu neque odioso, deinde augeatur ratione, diligentia, parsimonia, tum quam plurimis, modo dignis, se utilem praebeat nec libidini potius luxuriaeque quam liberalitati et beneficentiae pareat. Haec praescripta servantem licet magnifice, graviter animoseque vivere atque etiam simpliciter, fideliter, † vere hominum amice.

Moderation the fourth cardinal virtue. Propriety, decorum, belongs to this, as it does to wisdom, justice, and fortitude; and it is so blended with virtue that it can be distinguished from it only in thought. Decorum is both general and special.

XXVII. 93. Sequitur, ut de una reliqua parte honestatis dicendum sit, in qua verecundia et quasi quidam ornatus vitae, temperantia et modestia omnisque sedatio perturbationum animi et rerum modus cernitur. Hoc loco continetur id, quod dici Latine decorum potest; Graece enim *πρέπον* dicitur. 94. Huius vis ea est, ut ab honesto non queat separari; nam et, quod decet, honestum est et, quod honestum est, decet; qualis autem differentia sit honesti et decori, facilius intellegi quam explanari potest. Quicquid est enim, quod deceat, id tum apparet, cum antegressa est honestas. Itaque non solum in hac parte honestatis, de qua hoc loco disserendum est, sed etiam in

tribus superioribus quid deceat apparet. Nam et ratione
 uti atque oratione prudenter et agere, quod agas, conside-
 1095 rate omnique in re quid sit veri videre et tueri decet, con-
 traque falli, errare, labi, decipi tam dedecet quam delirare
 et mente esse captum; et iusta omnia decora sunt, iniusta
 contra, ut turpia, sic indecora. Similis est ratio fortitudi-
 nis. Quod enim viriliter animoque magno fit, id dignum
 1100 viro et decorum videtur, quod contra, id ut turpe, sic inde-
 corum. 95. Quare pertinet quidem ad omnem honestatem
 hoc, quod dico, decorum, et ita pertinet, ut non recon-
 dita quadam ratione cernatur, sed sit in promptu. Est enim
 quiddam, idque intellegitur in omni virtute, quod deceat;
 1105 quod cogitatione magis a virtute potest quam re separari.
 Ut venustas et pulchritudo corporis secerni non potest a
 valetudine, sic hoc, de quo loquimur, decorum totum illud
 quidem est cum virtute confusum, sed mente et cogitati-
 one distinguitur. 96. Est autem eius descriptio duplex;
 1110 nam et generale quoddam decorum intellegimus, quod in
 omni honestate versatur, et aliud huic subiectum, quod
 pertinet ad singulas partes honestatis. Atque illud su-
 perius sic fere definiri solet: decorum id esse, quod con-
 sentaneum sit hominis excellentiae in eo, in quo natura
 1115 eius a reliquis animantibus differat. Quae autem pars
 subiecta generi est, eam sic definiunt, ut id decorum velint
 esse, quod ita naturae consentaneum sit, ut in eo moderatio
 et temperantia appareat cum specie quadam liberali.

*Propriety is illustrated in the works of the dramatic poets, who make
 word and action suit each character. Nature has assigned us
 a character in making us reasonable beings. As beauty of body
 delights the eye, so propriety of life wins the approval of our
 fellow-men. The duty derived from propriety is conformity to
 nature. If we follow her as a guide, we shall show forth the
 four cardinal virtues.*

XXVIII. 97. Haec ita intellegi possumus existimare
 1120 ex eo decoro, quod poëtae sequuntur; de quo alio loco
 plura dici solent. Sed tum servare illud poëtas, quod

deceat, dicimus, cum id, quod quaque persona dignum est, et fit et dicitur; ut, si Aeacus aut Minos diceret:

Óderint, dum métuant,
aut:

1125

natís sepulchro ipse ést parens,

indecorum videretur, quod eos fuisse iustos accepimus; at Atreo dicente plausus excitantur; est enim digna persona oratio. Sed poëtae, quid quemque deceat, ex persona iudicabunt; nobis autem personam imposuit ipsa natura 1130 magna cum excellentia praestantiaque animantium reliquarum. 98. Quocirca poëtae in magna varietate personarum, etiam vitiosis quid conveniat et quid deceat, videbunt, nobis autem cum a natura constantiae, moderationis, temperantiae, verecundiae partes datae sint, cum- 1135 que eadem natura doceat non neglegere, quem ad modum nos adversus homines geramus, efficitur, ut et illud, quod ad omnem honestatem pertinet, decorum quam late fusum sit, appareat et hoc, quod spectatur in uno quoque genere virtutis. Ut enim pulchritudo corporis apta compositione 1140 membrorum movet oculos et delectat hoc ipso, quod inter se omnes partes cum quodam lepore consentiunt, sic hoc decorum, quod elucet in vita, movet adprobationem eorum, quibuscum vivitur, ordine et constantia et moderatione dictorum omnium atque factorum. 99. Adhibenda est 1145 igitur quaedam reverentia adversus homines et optimi cuiusque et reliquorum. Nam neglegere, quid de se quisque sentiat, non solum arrogantis est, sed etiam omnino dissoluti. Est autem, quod differat in hominum ratione habenda inter iustitiam et verecundiam. Iustitiae partes 1150 sunt non violare homines, verecundiae non offendere; in quo maxime vis perspicitur decori. His igitur expositis, quale sit id quod decere dicimus, intellectum puto.

100. Officium autem, quod ab eo ducitur, hanc primum habet viam, quae deducit ad convenientiam conservatio- 1155 nemque naturae; quam si sequemur ducem, numquam aberrabimus sequemurque et id, quod acutum et perspicax

natura est, et id, quod ad hominum consociationem accom-
modatum, et id, quod vehemens atque forte. Sed maxima
1160 vis decori in hac inest parte, de qua disputamus; neque
enim solum corporis, qui ad naturam apti sunt, sed multo
etiam magis animi motus probandi, qui item ad naturam
accommodati sunt. **101.** Duplex est enim vis animorum
atque natura; una pars in appetitu posita est, quae est
1165 ὁρμή Graece, quae hominem huc et illuc rapit, altera in
ratione, quae docet et explanat, quid faciendum fugien-
dumque sit. Ita fit, ut ratio praesit, appetitus obtemperet.

*Action ought to proceed from reasonable causes. The appetites should
obey reason. Failure to observe this rule affects mind and body.
Duty bids us act thoughtfully and observe moderation in sport
and jest. Jestings should be free from coarseness and vulgarity.
The games of the campus and hunting afford suitable recreation.*

XXIX. Omnis autem actio vacare debet temeritate
et negligentia nec vero agere quicquam, cuius non possit
1170 causam probabilem reddere; haec est enim fere discriptio
officii. **102.** Efficiendum autem est, ut appetitus rationi
oboediant eamque neque praecurrant nec propter pigritiam
aut ignaviam deserant sintque tranquilli atque omni animi
perturbatione careant; ex quo elucebit omnis constantia
1175 omnisque moderatio. Nam qui appetitus longius evagan-
tur et tamquam exultantes sive cupiendo sive fugiendo
non satis a ratione retinentur, ii sine dubio finem et modum
transeunt; relinquunt enim et abiciunt oboedientiam nec
rationi parent, cui sunt subiecti lege naturae; a quibus
1180 non modo animi perturbantur, sed etiam corpora. Licet
ora ipsa cernere iratorum aut eorum, qui aut libidine
aliqua aut metu commoti sunt aut voluptate nimia ge-
stiunt; quorum omnium voltus, voces, motus statusque
mutantur. **103.** Ex quibus illud intellegitur, ut ad officii
1185 formam revertamur, appetitus omnes contrahendos sedan-
dosque esse excitandamque animadversionem et diligen-
tiam, ut ne quid temere ac fortuito, inconsiderate negle-
genterque agamus. Neque enim ita generati a natura

sumus, ut ad ludum et iocum facti esse videamur, ad severitatem potius et ad quaedam studia graviora atque 1190 maiora. Ludo autem et ioco uti illo quidem licet, sed sicut somno et quietibus ceteris tum, cum gravibus seriisque rebus satis fecerimus. Ipsumque genus iocandi non profusum nec immodestum, sed ingenuum et facetum esse debet. Ut enim pueris non omnem ludendi licentiam 1195 damus, sed eam, quae ab honestatis actionibus non sit aliena, sic in ipso ioco aliquod probi ingenii lumen eluceat.

104. Duplex omnino est iocandi genus, unum inliberale, petulans, flagitiosum, obscenum, alterum elegans, urbanum, ingeniosum, facetum. Quo genere non modo 1200 Plautus noster et Atticorum antiqua comoedia, sed etiam philosophorum Socraticorum libri referti sunt, multaque multorum facete dicta, ut ea, quae a sene Catone collecta sunt, quae vocant ἀποφθέγματα. Facilis igitur est distinctio ingenui et inliberalis ioci. Alter est, si tempore 1205 fit, ut si remisso animo, *gravissimo* homine dignus, alter ne libero quidem, si rerum turpitudini adhibetur verborum obscenitas. Ludendi etiam est quidam modus retinendus, ut ne nimis omnia profundamus elatique voluptate in aliquam turpitudinem delabamur. Suppeditant autem et 1210 campus noster et studia venandi honesta exempla ludendi.

In considering duty we must always bear in mind man's superiority to the lower animals. Bodily pleasure is unworthy of man's higher nature. We are endowed with two characters: one common to us with all human beings; the other peculiar to us as individuals. Variety in outward appearance has its counterpart in mental characteristics. Illustrious examples of this.

XXX. 105. Sed pertinet ad omnem officii quaestionem semper in promptu habere, quantum natura hominis pecudibus reliquisque beluis antecedit; illae nihil sentiunt nisi voluptatem ad eamque feruntur omni impetu, homi- 1215 nis autem mens discendo alitur et cogitando, semper aliquid aut anquirat aut agit videndique et audiendi delectatione ducitur. Quin etiam, si quis est paulo ad voluptates

propensior, modo ne sit ex pecudum genere (sunt enim
 1220 quidam homines non re, sed nomine), sed si quis est paulo
 erectior, quamvis voluptate capiatur, occultat et dissimu-
 lat appetitum voluptatis propter verecundiam. 106. Ex
 quo intellegitur corporis voluptatem non satis esse dignam
 hominis praestantia, eamque contemni et reici oportere;
 1225 sin sit quispiam, qui aliquid tribuat voluptati, diligenter
 ei tenendum esse eius fruendae modum. Itaque victus
 cultusque corporis ad valetudinem referatur et ad vires,
 non ad voluptatem. Atque etiam si considerare volumus,
 quae sit in natura excellentia et dignitas, intellegemus,
 1230 quam sit turpe diffluere luxuria et delicate ac molliter
 vivere quamque honestum parce, continenter, severe,
 sobrie.

107. Intellegendum etiam est duabus quasi nos a natura
 indutos esse personis; quarum una communis est ex eo,
 1235 quod omnes participes sumus rationis praestantiaeque eius
 qua antecellimus bestiis, a qua omne honestum decorum-
 que trahitur, et ex qua ratio inveniendi officii exquiritur,
 altera autem, quae proprie singulis est tributa. Ut enim
 in corporibus magnae dissimilitudines sunt (alios videmus
 1240 velocitate ad cursum, alios viribus ad luctandum valere,
 itemque in formis aliis dignitatem inesse, aliis venustatem),
 sic in animis existunt maiores etiam varietates. 108. Erat
 in L. Crasso, in L. Philippo multus lepos, maior etiam
 magisque de industria in C. Caesare L. filio; at isdem
 1245 temporibus in M. Scauro et in M. Druso adulescente sin-
 gularis severitas, in C. Laelio multa hilaritas, in eius
 familiari Scipione ambitio maior, vita tristior. De Grae-
 cis autem dulcem et facetum festivique sermonis atque
 in omni oratione simulatorem, quem *εἰρωνία* Graeci nomi-
 1250 narunt, Socratem accepimus, contra Pythagoram et Peri-
 clem summam auctoritatem consecutos sine ulla hilaritate.
 Callidum Hannibalem ex Poenorum, ex nostris ducibus Q.
 Maximum accepimus, facile celare, tacere, dissimulare,
 insidiari, praeripere hostium consilia. In quo genere

Graeci Themistoclem et Pheraeum Iasonem ceteris ante- 1255
 ponunt; in primisque versutum et callidum factum Solonis,
 qui, quo et tutior eius vita esset et plus aliquanto rei
 publicae prodesset, furere se simulavit. 109. Sunt his
 alii multum dispares, simplices et aperti, qui nihil ex
 occulto, nihil de insidiis agendum putant, veritatis cul- 1260
 tores, fraudis inimici, itemque alii, qui quidvis per-
 petiantur, cuius deserviant, dum, quod velint, conse-
 quantur, ut Sullam et M. Crassum videbamus. Quo in
 genere versutissimum et patientissimum Lacedaemonium
 Lysandrum accepimus, contraque Callicratidam, qui prae- 1265
 fectus classis proximus post Lysandrum fuit; itemque in
 sermonibus alium [quemque], quamvis praepotens sit,
 efficere, ut unus de multis esse videatur; quod in Catulo,
 et in patre et in filio, itemque in Q. Mucio † Mancina vidi-
 mus. Audivi ex maioribus natu hoc idem fuisse in P. 1270
 Scipione Nasica, contraque patrem eius, illum qui Ti.
 Gracchi conatus perditos vindicavit, nullam comitatem
 habuisse sermonis [ne Xenocratem quidem, severissimum
 philosophorum,] ob eamque rem ipsam magnum et clarum
 fuisse. Innumerabiles aliae dissimilitudines sunt naturae 1275
 morumque, minime tamen vituperandorum.

The propriety which we seek will be secured if we obey universal nature and at the same time follow out our own individual characters. Suicide may be the duty of one man, as, for example, of Cato, while under the same circumstances it would be criminal for others. Ulysses and Ajax contrasted. One should understand his own character. Actors choose the parts for which they are best fitted.

XXXI. 110. Admodum autem tenenda sunt sua cuique non vitiosa, sed tamen propria, quo facilius decorum illud, quod quaerimus, retineatur. Sic enim est faciendum, ut contra universam naturam nihil contendamus, ea tamen 1280
 conservata propriam nostram sequamur, ut, etiamsi sint
 alia graviora atque meliora, tamen nos studia nostra
 nostrae naturae regula metiamur; neque enim attinet

naturae repugnare nec quicquam sequi, quod assequi non
1285 queas. Ex quo magis emergit, quale sit decorum illud,
ideo quia nihil decet invita Minerva, ut aiunt, id est ad-
versante et repugnante natura. 111. Omnino si quicquam
est decorum, nihil est profecto magis quam aequabilitas
cum universae vitae, tum singularum actionum, quam
1290 conservare non possis, si aliorum naturam imitans omittas
tuam. Ut enim sermone eo debemus uti, qui innatus est
nobis, ne, ut quidam, Graeca verba inculcantes iure op-
timo rideamur, sic in actiones omnemque vitam nullam
discrepantiam conferre debemus. 112. Atque haec diffe-
1295 rentia naturarum tantam habet vim, ut non numquam
mortem sibi ipse consciscere alius debeat, alius in eadem
causa non debeat. Num enim alia in causa M. Cato fuit,
alia ceteri, qui se in Africa Caesari tradiderunt? Atqui
ceteris forsitan vitio datum esset, si se interemissent,
1300 propterea quod lenior eorum vita et mores fuerant facili-
ores, Catoni cum incredibilem tribuisset natura gravitatem
eamque ipse perpetua constantia roboravisset semperque
in proposito susceptoque consilio permansisset, moriendum
potius quam tyranni vultus aspiciendus fuit. 113. Quam
1305 multa passus est Ulixes in illo errore diuturno, cum et
mulieribus, si Circe et Calypso mulieres appellandae sunt,
inserviret et in omni sermone omnibus adfabilem [et
iucundum] esse se vellet! domi vero etiam contumelias
servorum ancillarumque pertulit, ut ad id aliquando, quod
1310 cupiebat, veniret. At Ajax, quo animo traditur, milies
oppetere mortem quam illa perpeti maluisset. Quae con-
templantes expendere oportebit, quid quisque habeat sui,
eaeque moderari nec velle experiri, quam se aliena deceant;
id enim maxime quemque decet, quod est cuiusque ma-
1315 xime suum. 114. *Suum* quisque igitur noscat ingenium
acremque se et bonorum et vitiorum suorum iudicem
praebeat, ne scaenici plus quam nos videantur habere pru-
dentiae. Illi enim non optimas, sed sibi accommodatissi-
mas fabulas eligunt; qui voce freti sunt, Epigonos Me-

dumque, qui gestu, Melanippam, Clytemestram, semper 1320
Rupilius, quem ego memini, Antiopam, non saepe Aesopus
Aiacem. Ergo histrio hoc videbit in scaena, non videbit
sapiens vir in vita? Ad quas igitur res aptissimi erimus,
in iis potissimum elaborabimus; sin aliquando necessitas
nos ad ea detruserit, quae nostri ingenii non erunt, omnis 1325
adhibenda erit cura, meditatio, diligentia, ut ea si non
decore, at quam minime indecore facere possimus; nec
tam est enitendum, ut bona, quae nobis data non sint,
sequamur, quam ut vitia fugiamus.

Besides the two characters already mentioned, a third is imposed upon us by chance, a fourth by our own choice. Some follow the occupation of their fathers. Men of humble origin often work out a career for themselves. A profession must be chosen while the judgment is still immature. The celebrated choice of Hercules is granted to few.

XXXII. 115. Ac duabus iis personis, quas supra dixi, 1330
tertia adiungitur, quam casus aliqui aut tempus inponit;
quarta etiam, quam nobismet ipsi iudicio nostro accommo-
damus. Nam regna imperia, nobilitas honores, divitiae opes
eaeque, quae sunt his contraria, in casu sita temporibus gu-
bernantur; ipsi autem gerere quam personam velimus; a no- 1335
stra voluntate proficiscitur. Itaque se alii ad philosophiam,
alii ad ius civile, alii ad eloquentiam applicant, ipsarum-
que virtutum in alia alius mavult excellere. 116. Quo-
rum vero patres aut maiores aliqua gloria praestiterunt,
ii student plerumque eodem in genere laudis excellere, ut 1340
Q. Mucius P. filius in iure civili, Pauli filius Africanus in
re militari. Quidam autem ad eas laudes, quas a patribus
acceperunt, addunt aliquam suam, ut hic idem Africanus
eloquentia cumulavit bellicam gloriam; quod idem fecit
Timotheus Cononis filius, qui cum belli laude non inferior 1345
fuisset quam pater, ad eam laudem doctrinae et ingenii
gloriam adiecit. Fit autem interdum, ut non nulli omissa
imitatione maiorum suum quoddam institutum consequan-
tur, maximeque in eo plerumque elaborant ii, qui magna

- 1350 sibi proponunt obscuris orti maioribus. **117.** Haec igitur omnia, cum quaerimus, quid deceat, complecti animo et cogitatione debemus; in primis autem constituendum est, quos nos et quales esse velimus et in quo genere vitae, quae deliberatio est omnium difficillima.
- 1355 Ineunte enim adulescentia, cum est maxima inbecillitas consilii, tum id sibi quisque genus aetatis degendae constituit, quod maxime adamavit; itaque ante implicatur aliquo certo genere cursuque vivendi, quam potuit, quod optimum esset, iudicare. **118.** Nam quod Herculem
- 1360 Prodicus dicit, ut est apud Xenophontem, cum primum pubesceret, quod tempus a natura ad deligendum, quam quisque viam vivendi sit ingressurus, datum est, exisse in solitudinem atque ibi sedentem diu secum multumque dubitasse, cum duas cerneret vias, unam Voluptatis,
- 1365 alteram Virtutis, utram ingredi melius esset, hoc Herculi 'Iovis satu edito' potuit fortasse contingere, nobis non item, qui imitatur, quos cuique visum est, atque ad eorum studia institutaque impellimur; plerumque autem parentium praeceptis inbuti ad eorum consuetudinem
- 1370 moremque deducimur; alii multitudinis iudicio feruntur, quaeque maiori parti pulcherrima videntur, ea maxime exoptant; non nulli tamen sive felicitate quadam sive bonitate naturae sine parentium disciplina rectam vitae secuti sunt viam.

Sometimes men of marked ability are able to choose deliberately the career for which they are best qualified. In this choice natural talent must be considered above all else, and the choice once made must be adhered to. If a change becomes imperative, it should be made with the greatest care. In imitating our fathers, we ought to avoid their faults and copy their virtues.

- 1375 XXXIII. **119.** Illud autem maxime rarum genus est eorum, qui aut excellenti ingenii magnitudine aut praeclara eruditione atque doctrina aut utraque re ornati spatium etiam deliberandi habuerunt, quem potissimum vitae cursum sequi vellent; in qua deliberatione ad suam

cuiusque naturam consilium est omne revocandum. Nam 1380
cum in omnibus, quae aguntur, ex eo, quo modo quisque
natus est, ut supra dictum est, quid deceat, exquirimus,
tum in tota vita constituenda multo est ei rei cura maior
adhibenda, ut constare in perpetuitate vitae possimus
nobismet ipsis nec in ullo officio claudicare. 120. Ad hanc 1385
autem rationem quoniam maximam vim natura habet,
fortuna proximam, utriusque omnino habenda ratio est in
deligendo genere vitae, sed naturae magis; multo enim et
firmior est et constantior, ut fortuna non numquam tam-
quam ipsa mortalis cum immortali natura pugnare videatur. 1390
Qui igitur ad naturae suae non vitiosae genus consilium
vivendi omne contulerit, is constantiam teneat (id enim
maxime decet), nisi forte se intellexerit errasse in deli-
gendo genere vitae. Quod si acciderit (potest autem
accidere), facienda morum institutorumque mutatio est. 1395
Eam mutationem si tempora adiuvabunt, facilius commo-
diusque faciemus; sin minus, sensim erit pedetemptimque
facienda, ut amicitias, quae minus delectent et minus
probenentur, magis decere censeant sapientes sensim diluere
quam repente praecidere. 121. Commutato autem genere 1400
vitae omni ratione curandum est, ut id bono consilio
fecisse videamur. Sed quoniam paulo ante dictum est
imitandos esse maiores, primum illud exceptum sit, ne
vitia sint imitanda, deinde, si natura non feret, ut quae-
dam imitari possit (ut superioris filius Africani, qui hunc 1405
Paulo natum adoptavit, propter infirmitatem valetudinis
non tam potuit patris similis esse, quam ille fuerat sui);
si igitur non poterit sive causas defensitare sive populum
contionibus tenere sive bella gerere, illa tamen praestare
debebit, quae erunt in ipsius potestate, iustitiam, fidem, 1410
liberalitatem, modestiam, temperantiam, quo minus ab eo
id, quod desit, requiratur. Optima autem hereditas a
patribus traditur liberis omnique patrimonio praestantior
gloria virtutis rerumque gestarum, cui dedecori esse nefas
[et vitium] iudicandum est.

Duties vary with age. The young ought to respect the old and accept their guidance; they should prepare for useful service and avoid all forms of excess. Old men ought to give others the benefit of their experience; they should not yield to idleness, luxury, or vice. Magistrates should remember that they represent the state. Citizens ought to respect the laws. Foreigners should not be meddlesome.

XXXIV. 122. Et quoniam officia non eadem disparibus aetatibus tribuuntur aliaque sunt iuvenum, alia seniorum, aliquid etiam de hac distinctione dicendum est. Est igitur adulescentis maiores natu vereri exque iis deligere
 1420 optimos et probatissimos, quorum consilio atque auctoritate nitatur; ineuntis enim aetatis inscitia senum constituenda et regenda prudentia est. Maxime autem haec aetas a libidinibus arcenda est exercendaque in labore patientiaque et animi et corporis, ut eorum et in bellicis
 1425 et in civilibus officiis vigeat industria. Atque etiam cum relaxare animos et dare se iucunditati volent, caveant intemperantiam, meminerint verecundiae, quod erit facilius, si ne in eius modi quidem rebus maiores natu nolent interesse. 123. Senibus autem labores corporis minuendi,
 1430 exercitationes animi etiam augendae videntur; danda vero opera, ut et amicos et iuventutem et maxime rem publicam consilio et prudentia quam plurimum adiuvent. Nihil autem magis cavendum est senectuti, quam ne languori se desidiaque dedat; luxuria vero cum omni
 1435 aetati turpis, tum senectuti foedissima est; sin autem etiam libidinum intemperantia accessit, duplex malum est, quod et ipsa senectus dedecus concipit et facit adulescentium inpudentiorem intemperantiam. 124. Ac ne illud quidem alienum est, de magistratuum, de privatorum[, de civium], de peregrinorum officiis dicere. Est igitur proprium munus magistratus intellegere se gerere personam civitatis debereque eius dignitatem et decus sustinere, servare leges, iura describere, ea fidei suae commissa meminisse. Privatum autem oportet aequo et
 1445 pari cum civibus iure vivere neque summissum et abiectum

neque se ecferentem, tum in re publica ea velle, quae tranquilla et honesta sint; talem enim solemus et sentire bonum civem et dicere. **125.** Peregrini autem atque incolae officium est nihil praeter suum negotium agere, nihil de alio anquirere minimeque esse in aliena re publica curiosum. Ita fere officia reperientur, cum quaeretur, quid deceat, et quid aptum sit personis, temporibus, aetatibus. Nihil est autem, quod tam deceat, quam in omni re gerenda consilioque capiendi servare constantiam. 1450

A few things must be said concerning beauty, order, and dress. Nature teaches us due regard for modesty. The Cynics and certain Stoics reason falsely on this subject. The two extremes of effeminacy and coarseness are to be avoided.

XXXV. 126. Sed quoniam decorum illud in omnibus factis, dictis, in corporis denique motu et statu cernitur idque positum est in tribus rebus, formositate, ordine, ornatu ad actionem apto, difficilibus ad eloquendum, sed satis erit intellegi, in his autem tribus continetur cura etiam illa, ut probemur iis, quibuscum apud quosque vivamus, his, quoque de rebus pauca dicantur. Principio corporis nostri magnam natura ipsa videtur habuisse rationem, quae formam nostram reliquamque figuram, in qua esset species honesta, eam posuit in promptu, quae partes autem corporis ad naturae necessitatem datae aspectum essent deformem habiturae atque foedum, eas contextit atque abdidit. **127.** Hanc naturae tam diligentem fabricam imitata est hominum verecundia. Quae enim natura occultavit, eadem omnes, qui sana mente sunt, removent ab oculis ipsique necessitati dant operam ut quam occultissime pareant; quarumque partium corporis usus sunt necessarii, eas neque partes neque earum usus suis nominibus appellant; quodque facere turpe non est, modo occulte, id dicere obscenum est. Itaque nec actio rerum illarum aperta petulantia vacat, nec orationis obscenitas. **128.** Nec vero audiendi sunt Cynici, aut si qui fuerunt Stoici paene Cynici, qui reprehendunt et 1465 1466 1467 1470 1475

inrident, quod ea, quae re turpia non sint, verbis flagitiosa
 1480 ducamus, illa autem, quae turpia sint, nominibus appel-
 lemus suis. Latrocinari, fraudare, adulterare re turpe
 est, sed dicitur non obscene; liberis dare operam re ho-
 nestum est, nomine obscenum; pluraque in eam senten-
 tiam ab eisdem contra verecundiam disputantur. Nos
 1485 autem naturam sequamur et ab omni, quod abhorret ab
 oculorum auriumque approbatione, fugiamus; status
 incessus, sessio accubitio, vultus oculi manuum motus
 teneat illud decorum. **129.** Quibus in rebus duo maxime
 sunt fugienda, ne quid effeminatum aut molle et ne quid
 durum aut rusticum sit. Nec vero histrionibus oratori-
 1490 busque concedendum est, ut iis haec apta sint, nobis dis-
 soluta. Scaenicorum quidem mos tantam habet vetere
 disciplina verecundiam, ut in scaenam sine subligaculo
 prodeat nemo; verentur enim, ne, si quo casu evenerit,
 ut corporis partes quaedam aperiantur, aspiciantur non
 1495 decore. Nostro quidem more cum parentibus puberes
 filii, cum soceris generi non lavantur. Retinenda igitur
 est huius generis verecundia, praesertim natura ipsa
 magistra et duce.

*Of the two kinds of beauty, grace belongs to woman; dignity of bear-
 ing, to man. The latter should be exemplified in movement, com-
 plexion, and dress; and in freedom from too great physical or
 mental excitement.*

XXXVI. 130. Cum autem pulchritudinis duo genera
 1500 sint, quorum in altero venustas sit, in altero dignitas,
 venustatem muliebrem ducere debemus, dignitatem viri-
 lem. Ergo et a forma removeatur omnis viro non dignus
 ornatus, et huic simile vitium in gestu motuque cave-
 atur. Nam et palaestrici motus sunt saepe odiosiores,
 1505 et histrionum non nulli gestus ineptiis non vacant, et in
 utroque genere quae sunt recta et simplicia, laudantur.
 Formae autem dignitas coloris bonitate tuenda est, color
 exercitationibus corporis. Adhibenda praeterea mun-
 ditia est non odiosa neque exquisita nimis, tantum quae

fugiat agrestem et inhumanam negligentiam. Eadem 1510
ratio est habenda vestitus, in quo, sicut in plerisque
rebus, mediocritas optima est. **131.** Cavendum autem
est, ne aut tarditatibus utamur *in* ingressu mollioribus,
ut pomparum ferculis similes esse videamur, aut in festi-
nationibus suscipiamus nimias celeritates, quae cum fiunt, 1515
anhelitus moventur, vultus mutantur, ora torquentur;
ex quibus magna significatio fit non adesse constan-
tiam. Sed multo etiam magis elaborandum est, ne animi
motus a natura recedant; quod assequemur, si cavebimus,
ne in perturbationes atque exanimationes incidamus, et 1520
si attentos animos ad decoris conservationem tenebimus.
132. Motus autem animorum duplices sunt, alteri cogi-
tationis, alteri appetitus; cogitatio in vero exquirendo
maxime versatur, appetitus inpellit ad agendum. Curan-
dum est igitur, ut cogitatione ad res quam optimas uta- 1525
mur, appetitum rationi oboedientem praebeamus.

*Oratory and conversation. Rules of the former apply to the latter.
The training of the voice. Examples of good speakers. Rules
to be observed in conversation: one should not occupy all the time;
appropriate subjects should be chosen; conversation should not be
prolonged beyond a reasonable limit.*

XXXVII. Et quoniam magna vis orationis est, eaque
duplex, altera contentionis, altera sermonis, contentio di-
sceptationibus tribuatur iudiciorum, contionum, senatus,
sermo in circulis, disputationibus, congressionibus famili- 1530
arium versetur, sequatur etiam convivia. Contentionis
praecepta rhetorum sunt, nulla sermonis, quamquam
haud scio, an possint haec quoque esse. Sed discentium
studiis inveniuntur magistri, huic autem qui studeant,
sunt nulli, rhetorum turba referta omnia; quamquam, quae 1535
verborum sententiarumque praecepta sunt, eadem ad ser-
monem pertinebunt. **133.** Sed cum orationis indicem vocem
habeamus, in voce autem duo sequamur, ut clara sit, ut
suavis, utrumque omnino a natura petundum est, verum
alterum exercitatio augebit, alterum imitatio presse loquen- 1540

tium et leniter. Nihil fuit in Catulis, ut eos exquisito iudicio putares uti litterarum, quamquam erant litterati; sed et alii; hi autem optime uti lingua Latina putabantur; sonus erat dulcis, litterae neque expressae neque oppressae, 1545 ne aut obscurum esset aut putidum, sine contentione vox nec languens nec canora. Uberior oratio L. Crassi nec minus faceta, sed bene loquendi de Catulis opinio non minor. Sale vero et facetiis Caesar, Catuli patris frater, vicit omnes, ut in illo ipso forensi genere dicendi conten- 1550 tiones aliorum sermone vinceret. In omnibus igitur his elaborandum est, si in omni re quid deceat exquirimus. **134.** Sit ergo hic sermo, in quo Socratici maxime excellunt, lenis minimeque pertinax, insit in eo lepos; nec vero, tamquam in possessionem suam venerit, excludat alios, sed 1555 cum reliquis in rebus, tum in sermone communi vicissitudinem non iniquam putet; ac videat in primis, quibus de rebus loquatur; si seriis, severitatem adhibeat, si iocosis, leporem; in primisque provideat, ne sermo vitium aliquod indicet inesse in moribus; quod maxime tum solet 1560 evenire, cum studiose de absentibus detrahendi causa aut per ridiculum aut severe maledice contumelioseque dicitur. **135.** Habentur autem plerumque sermones aut de domesticis negotiis aut de re publica aut de artium studiis atque doctrina. Danda igitur opera est, ut, etiamsi aberrare ad 1565 alia coeperit, ad haec revocetur oratio, sed utcumque aderunt; neque enim isdem de rebus nec omni tempore nec similiter delectamur. Animadvertendum est etiam, quatenus sermo delectationem habeat, et, ut incipiendi ratio fuerit, ita sit desinendi modus.

Dignity of manner and courtesy toward others should be maintained in conversation. Reproof ought to be free from anger and bitterness. It should be resorted to only when necessary, and then should be intended for the benefit of the one reproofed. Self-praise and boasting are inconsistent with dignity.

1570 XXXVIII. **136.** Sed quo modo in omni vita rectissime praecipitur, ut perturbationes fugiamus, id est motus animi

nimios rationi non optemperantes, sic eius modi motibus sermo debet vacare, ne aut ira existat aut cupiditas aliqua aut pigritia aut ignavia aut tale aliquid appareat, maximeque curandum est, ut eos, quibuscum sermonem 1575 conferemus, et vereri et diligere videamur. Obiurgationes etiam non numquam incidunt necessariae, in quibus utendum est fortasse et vocis contentione maiore et verborum gravitate acriore, id agendum etiam, ut ea facere videamur irati. Sed, ut ad urendum et secandum, sic ad hoc genus 1580 castigandi raro invitique veniemus nec umquam nisi necessario, si nulla reperietur alia medicina; sed tamen ira procul absit, cum qua nihil recte fieri, nihil considerate potest.

137. Magnam autem partem clementi castigatione licet uti, gravitate tamen adiuncta, ut et severitas adhibeatur 1585 et contumelia repellatur. Atque etiam illud ipsum, quod acerbitatis habet obiurgatio, significandum est, ipsius id causa, qui obiurgetur, esse susceptum. Rectum est autem etiam in illis contentionibus, quae cum inimicissimis fiunt, etiamsi nobis indigna audiamus, tamen gravitatem re- 1590 tinere, iracundiam repellere. Quae enim cum aliqua perturbatione fiunt, ea nec constanter fieri possunt neque iis, qui adsunt, probari. Deforme etiam est de se ipsum praedicare falsa praesertim et cum inrisione audientium imitari militem gloriosum. 1595

One's dwelling should conform to his rank and station. Dignity may be enhanced by the home, but should not be wholly dependent upon it. Extravagance in building should be avoided; convenience and propriety ought rather to be aimed at. In every undertaking three things are needful: appetite should obey reason; effort should be proportioned to the result desired; and moderation should be observed.

XXXIX. 138. Et quoniam omnia persequimur, volumus quidem certe, dicendum est etiam, qualem hominis honorati et principis domum placeat esse, cuius finis est usus, ad quem accommodanda est aedificandi descriptio et tamen adhibenda commoditatis dignitatisque dili- 1600

gentia. Cn. Octavio, qui primus ex illa familia consul factus est, honori fuisse accepimus, quod praeclaram aedificasset in Palatio et plenam dignitatis domum; quae cum vulgo viseretur, suffragata domino, novo homini, ad
 1605 consulatum putabatur; hanc Scaurus demolitus accessio-
 nem adiunxit aedibus. Itaque ille in suam domum consula-
 tum primus attulit, hic, summi et clarissimi viri filius, in
 domum multiplicatam non repulsam solum rettulit, sed
 ignominiam etiam et calamitatem. **139.** Ornanda enim
 1610 est dignitas domo, non ex domo tota quaerenda, nec domo
 dominus, sed domino domus honestanda est, et, ut in
 ceteris habenda ratio non sua solum, sed etiam aliorum,
 sic in domo clari hominis, in quam et hospites multi
 recipiendi et admittenda hominum cuiusque modi mul-
 1615 titudo, adhibenda cura est laxitatis; aliter ampla domus
 dedecori saepe domino est, si est in ea solitudo, et maxime,
 si aliquando alio domino solita est frequentari. Odiosum
 est enim, cum a praetereuntibus dicitur :

O domus ántiqua, heu quam díspari

1620 Domináre domino!

quod quidem his temporibus in multis licet dicere.
140. Cavendum autem est, praesertim si ipse aedifices, ne
 extra modum sumptu et magnificentia prodeas; quo in
 genere multum mali etiam in exemplo est. Studiose enim
 1625 plerique praesertim in hanc partem facta principum imi-
 tantur, ut L. Luculli, summi viri, virtutem quis? at quam
 multi villarum magnificentiam imitati! quarum quidem
 certe est adhibendus modus ad mediocritatemque revo-
 candus. Eademque mediocritas ad omnem usum cultum-
 1630 que vitae transferenda est. Sed haec hactenus.

141. In omni autem actione suscipienda tria sunt
 tenenda, primum ut appetitus rationi pareat, quo nihil est
 ad officia conservanda accommodatius, deinde ut animad-
 vertatur, quanta illa res sit, quam efficere velimus, ut neve
 1635 maior neve minor cura et opera suscipiatur, quam causa
 postulet. Tertium est, ut caveamus, ut ea, quae pertinent

ad liberalem speciem et dignitatem, moderata sint. Modus autem est optimus decus ipsum tenere, de quo ante diximus, nec progredi longius. Horum tamen trium praestantissimum est appetitum optemperare rationi.

1640

The order and seasonableness of actions; the saying and doing the right thing at the right time and place. Life should be like a well-ordered discourse, harmonious and consistent in all its parts. Great violations of propriety are easily seen; the smaller ones must be carefully guarded against. An illustration from music.

XL. 142. Deinceps de ordine rerum et de opportunitate temporum dicendum est. Haec autem scientia continentur ea, quam Graeci *εὐταξίαν* nominant, non hanc, quam interpretamur modestiam, quo in verbo modus inest, sed illa est *εὐταξία*, in qua intellegitur ordinis conservatio. Itaque, ut eandem nos modestiam appellemus, sic definitur a Stoicis, ut modestia sit scientia rerum earum, quae agentur aut dicentur, loco suo collocandarum. Ita videtur eadem vis ordinis et collocationis fore; nam et ordinem sic definiunt: compositionem rerum aptis et accommodatis locis; locum autem actionis opportunitatem temporis esse dicunt; tempus autem actionis opportunum Graece *εὐκαιρία*, Latine appellatur occasio. Sic fit, ut modestia haec, quam ita interpretamur, ut dixi, scientia sit opportunitatis idoneorum ad agendum temporum. 143. Sed potest eadem esse prudentiae definitio, de qua principio diximus; hoc autem loco de moderatione et temperantia et harum similibus virtutibus quaerimus. Itaque, quae erant prudentiae propria, suo loco dicta sunt; quae autem harum virtutum, de quibus iam diu loquimur, quae pertinent ad verecundiam et ad eorum approbationem, quibuscum vivimus, nunc dicenda sunt.

144. Talis est igitur ordo actionum adhibendus, ut, quem ad modum in oratione constanti, sic in vita omnia sint apta inter se et convenientia; turpe enim valdeque vitiosum in re severa convivio digna aut delicatum aliquem

1665

- inferre sermonem. Bene Pericles, cum haberet collegam in praetura Sophoclem poëtam iique de communi officio convenissent et casu formosus puer praeteriret dixissetque
- 1670 Sophocles: 'O puerum pulchrum, Pericle!' 'At enim praetorem, Sophocle, decet non solum manus, sed etiam oculos abstinentes habere.' Atqui hoc idem Sophocles si in athletarum probatione dixisset, iusta reprehensione caruisset.
- 1675 Tanta vis est et loci et temporis. Ut, si qui, cum causam sit acturus, in itinere aut in ambulatione secum ipse meditetur, aut si quid aliud attentius cogitet, non reprehendatur, at hoc idem si in convivio faciat, inhumanus videatur inscitia temporis. 145. Sed ea, quae multum ab humanitate discrepant, ut si qui in foro cantet, aut si qua est alia magna perversitas, facile apparet nec magnopere admonitionem et praecepta desiderat; quae autem parva videntur esse delicta neque a multis intellegi possunt, ab iis est diligentius declinandum. Ut in fidibus aut tibiis,
- 1685 quamvis paulum discrepent, tamen id a sciente animadverti solet, sic videndum est in vita ne forte quid discrepet, vel multo etiam magis, quo maior et melior actionum quam sonorum concentus est.

If we observe closely, we can understand great defects from small ones.

It is well to note what is unbecoming in others, that we may avoid the same ourselves. In case of doubt, we should ask advice from men of experience. General rules and customs are binding upon us, even though Socrates or Aristippus may violate them. We ought to treat every one with the respect due his character, age, and position.

- XLI. 146. Itaque, ut in fidibus musicorum aures vel
- 1690 minima sentiunt, sic nos, si acres ac diligentes esse volumus animadversores vitiorum, magna saepe intellegemus ex parvis. Ex oculorum optutu, superciliorum aut remissione aut contractione, ex maestitia, ex hilaritate, ex risu, ex locutione, ex reticentia, ex contentione vocis, ex sum-
- 1695 missione, ex ceteris similibus facile iudicabimus, quid

eorum apte fiat, quid ab officio naturaque discrepet. Quo in genere non est incommodum, quale quidque eorum sit, ex aliis iudicare, ut, si quid dedeceat in illis, vitemus ipsi; fit enim nescio quo modo, ut magis in aliis cernamus quam in nobismet ipsis, si quid delinquitur. Itaque facillime 1700 corriguntur in discendo, quorum vitia imitantur emendandi causa magistri. 147. Nec vero alienum est ad ea eligenda, quae dubitationem afferunt, adhibere doctos homines vel etiam usu peritos et, quid iis de quoque officii genere placeat, exquirere. Maior enim pars eo fere de- 1705 ferri solet, quo a natura ipsa deducitur. In quibus videndum est, non modo quid quisque loquatur, sed etiam quid quisque sentiat atque etiam de qua causa quisque sentiat. Ut enim pictores et ii, qui signa fabricantur, et vero etiam poëtae suum quisque opus a vulgo considerari vult, 1710 ut, si quid reprehensum sit a pluribus, id corrigatur, iique et secum et ex aliis, quid in eo peccatum sit, exquirunt, sic aliorum iudicio permulta nobis et facienda et non facienda et mutanda et corrigenda sunt. 148. Quae vero more agentur institutisque civilibus, de iis nihil est prae- 1715 ciendum; illa enim ipsa praecepta sunt, nec quemquam hoc errore duci oportet, ut, si quid Socrates aut Aristippus contra morem consuetudinemque civilem fecerint locutivae sint, idem sibi arbitretur licere; magnis illi et divinis bonis hanc licentiam assequebantur. Cynicorum vero 1720 ratio tota est eicienda; est enim inimica verecundiae, sine qua nihil rectum esse potest, nihil honestum. 149. Eos autem, quorum vita perspecta in rebus honestis atque magnis est, bene de re publica sentientes ac bene meritos aut merentes sic ut aliquo honore aut imperio affectos 1725 observare et colere debemus, tribuere etiam multum senectuti, cedere iis, qui magistratum habebunt, habere dilectum civis et peregrini in ipsoque peregrino, privatimne an publice venerit. Ad summam, ne agam de singulis, communem totius generis hominum conciliationem et conso- 1730 ciationem colere, tueri, servare debemus.

Occupations which excite the ill-will of people, and those which involve labor merely, and not skill, are unworthy of freemen. Medicine, architecture, teaching, and similar useful employments are honorable for certain ranks. Trade on a large scale is not to be greatly disparaged, but agriculture is the most honorable occupation for a free-born Roman.

- XLII. 150. Iam de artificiiis et quaestibus, qui liberales habendi, qui sordidi sint, haec fere accepimus. Primum improbantur ii quaestus, qui in odia hominum incurrunt, 1735 ut portitorum, ut faeneratorum. Inliberales autem et sordidi quaestus mercennariorum omnium, quorum operae, non quorum artes emuntur; est enim in illis ipsa merces auctoramentum servitutis. Sordidi etiam putandi, qui mercantur a mercatoribus, quod statim vendant; nihil 1740 enim proficiant, nisi admodum mentiantur; nec vero est quicquam turpius vanitate. Opificesque omnes in sordida arte versantur; nec enim quicquam ingenuum habere potest officina. Minimeque artes eae probandae, quae ministræ sunt voluptatum :
- 1745 Cetarii, lanii, coqui, fartores, piscatores, ut ait Terentius; adde huc, si placet, unguentarios, saltatores totumque ludum talarium. 151. Quibus autem artibus aut prudentia maior inest aut non mediocris utilitas quaeritur, ut medicina, ut architectura, ut doctrina rerum 1750 honestarum, eae sunt iis, quorum ordini conveniunt, honestae. Mercatura autem, si tenuis est, sordida putanda est; si magna et copiosa, multa undique apportans multisque sine vanitate inertiens, non est admodum vituperanda, atque etiam, si satiata quaestu vel contenta potius, 1755 ut saepe ex alto in portum, ex ipso portu se in agros possessionesque contulit, videtur iure optimo posse laudari. Omnium autem rerum, ex quibus aliquid acquiritur, nihil est agri cultura melius, nihil uberius, nihil dulcius, nihil homine libero dignius; de qua quoniam in Catone maiore 1760 satis multa diximus, illum assumes, quæ ad hunc locum pertinebunt.

Second Part. Chapters XLIII–XLV.

Comparison of two honorable things. Social duties are more important than duties relating to knowledge simply. Wisdom in its highest form is the knowledge of things divine and human. But this wisdom is of little value unless it shows itself in action, for the benefit of society. The best men exemplify this most clearly in times of danger to country and friends.

XLIII. 152. Sed ab iis partibus, quae sunt honestatis, quem ad modum officia ducerentur, satis expositum videtur. Eorum autem ipsorum, quae honesta sunt, potest incidere saepe contentio et comparatio, de duobus honestis 1765 utrum honestius, qui locus a Panaetio est praetermissus. Nam cum omnis honestas manet a partibus quattuor quarum una sit cognitionis, altera communitatis, tertia magnanimitatis, quarta moderationis, haec in deligendo officio saepe inter se comparentur necesse est. 153. Placet igitur 1770 aptiora esse naturae ea officia, quae ex communitate, quam ea, quae ex cognitione ducantur, idque hoc argumento confirmari potest, quod, si contigerit ea vita sapienti, ut omnium rerum affluentibus copiis omnia, quae cognitione digna sint, summo otio secum ipse consideret et contem- 1775 pletur, tamen, si solitudo tanta sit, ut hominem videre non possit, excedat e vita. Princepsque omnium virtutum illa sapientia, quam σοφίαν Graeci vocant,—prudentiam enim, quam Graeci φρόνησιν dicunt, aliam quandam intellegimus, quae est rerum expetendarum fugiendarumque sci- 1780 entia; illa autem sapientia, quam principem dixi, rerum est divinarum et humanarum scientia, in qua continetur deorum et hominum communitas et societas inter ipsos; ea si maxima est, ut est certe, necesse est, quod a communitate ducatur officium, id esse maximum. Etenim cogni- 1785 tio contemplatioque naturae manca quodam modo atque incohata sit, si nulla actio rerum consequatur. Ea autem actio in hominum commodis tuendis maxime cernitur; pertinet igitur ad societatem generis humani; ergo haec

1790 cognitioni antepponenda est. **154.** Atque id optimus quis-
que reapse ostendit et iudicat. Quis enim est tam cupidus
in perspicienda cognoscendaque rerum natura, ut, si ei
tractanti contemplantique res cognitione dignissimas subito
sit allatum periculum discrimenque patriae, cui subvenire
1795 opitularique possit, non illa omnia relinquat atque abiciat,
etiamsi dinumerare se stellas aut metiri mundi magnitudi-
nem posse arbitretur? atque hoc idem in parentis, in amici
re aut periculo fecerit. **155.** Quibus rebus intellegitur
studiis officiisque scientiae praeponenda esse officia iusti-
1800 tiae, quae pertinent ad hominum utilitatem, qua nihil
homini esse debet antiquius.

*Examples of philosophers who have labored for the good of society.
This they may also do through their books. Wherefore eloquence
wisely employed is better than mere study. Man is a social being;
knowledge and fortitude are useless unless employed for the benefit
of others. Society did not originate in the necessity for mutual
aid in supplying men's wants.*

XLIV. Atque illi, quorum studia vitaque omnis in
rerum cognitione versata est, tamen ab augendis hominum
utilitatibus et commodis non recesserunt; nam et erudi-
1805 verunt multos, quo meliores cives utilioresque rebus suis
publicis essent, ut Thebanum Epaminondam Lysis Pytha-
goreus, Syracosium Dionem Plato multique multos, nos-
que ipsi, quicquid ad rem publicam attulimus, si modo
aliquid attulimus, a doctoribus atque doctrina instructi ad
1810 eam et ornati accessimus. **156.** Neque solum vivi atque
praesentes studiosos discendierudiunt atque docent, sed hoc
idem etiam post mortem monumentis litterarum assequun-
tur. Nec enim locus ullus est praetermissus ab iis, qui ad
leges, qui ad mores, qui ad disciplinam rei publicae per-
1815 tineret, ut otium suum ad nostrum negotium contulisse
videantur. Ita illi ipsi doctrinae studiis et sapientiae
dediti ad hominum utilitatem suam prudentiam intelle-
gentiamque potissimum conferunt; ob eamque etiam causam
eloqui copiose, modo prudenter, melius est quam vel acutis-

sime sine eloquentia cogitare, quod cogitatio in se ipsa ver- 1820
 titur, eloquentia complectitur eos quibuscum communitate
 iuncti sumus. 157. Atque ut apium examina non fingen-
 dorum favorum causa congregantur, sed, cum congregabilia
 natura sint, fingunt favos, sic homines, ac multo etiam
 magis natura congregati adhibent agendi cogitandique 1825
 sollertiam. Itaque, nisi ea virtus, quae constat ex homini-
 bus tuendis, id est ex societate generis humani, attingat
 cognitionem rerum, solivaga cognitio et ieiuna videatur,
 itemque magnitudo animi remota communitate coniunc-
 tioneque humana feritas sit quaedam et immanitas. Ita 1830
 fit, ut vincat cognitionis studium consociatio hominum
 atque communitas. 158. Nec verum est, quod dicitur a
 quibusdam, propter necessitatem vitae, quod ea, quae
 natura desideraret, consequi sine aliis atque efficere non
 possemus, idcirco initam esse cum hominibus communi- 1835
 tatem et societatem; quodsi omnia nobis, quae ad victum
 cultumque pertinent, quasi virgula divina, ut aiunt, sup-
 peditarentur, tum optimo quisque ingenio negotiis omni-
 bus omissis totum se in cognitione et scientia collocaret.
 Non est ita; nam et solitudinem fugeret et socium studii 1840
 quaereret, tum docere tum discere vellet, tum audire tum
 dicere. Ergo omne officium, quod ad coniunctionem
 hominum et ad societatem tuendam valet, anteponendum
 est illi officio, quod cognitione et scientia continetur.

*A comparison of the duties of justice and temperance. Some actions
 are not allowable for any purpose. The duties based upon justice
 are thus graded: first to the gods, second to our country, third to
 parents; then to kinsmen and others in order of relationship.*

XLV. 159. Illud forsitan quaerendum sit, num haec 1845
 communitas, quae maxime est apta naturae, sit etiam
 moderationi modestiaeque semper anteponenda. Non
 placet; sunt enim quaedam partim ita foeda, partim ita
 flagitiosa, ut ea ne conservandae quidem patriae causa
 sapiens facturus sit. Ea Posidonius collegit permulta, sed 1850
 ita taetra quaedam, ita obscena, ut dictu quoque videan-

tur turpia. Haec igitur non suscipiet rei publicae causa, ne res publica quidem pro se suscipi volet. Sed hoc commodius se res habet, quod non potest accidere tempus, ut
1855 intersit rei publicae quicquam illorum facere sapientem.
160. Quare hoc quidem effectum sit, in officiis deligendis id genus officiorum excellere, quod teneatur hominum societate. Etenim cognitionem prudentiamque sequetur considerata actio ; ita fit, ut agere considerate pluris sit
1860 quam cogitare prudenter. Atque haec quidem hactenus. Patefactus enim locus est ipse, ut non difficile sit in exquirendo officio, quid cuique sit praeponendum, videre. In ipsa autem communitate sunt gradus officiorum, ex quibus, quid cuique praestet, intellegi possit, ut prima dis
1865 immortalibus, secunda patriae, tertia parentibus, deinceps gradatim reliquis debeantur. **161.** Quibus ex rebus breviter disputatis intellegi potest non solum id homines solere dubitare, honestumne an turpe sit, sed etiam duobus propositis honestis utrum honestius sit. Hic locus a Panaetio est, ut supra dixi, praetermissus. Sed iam ad reliqua
1870 pergamus.

COMMENTARY.

BOOK I.

CHAPTER I.

1. **Marce fili** : see Introduction, 5. **annum** : Marcus, as shown by a letter from Cicero to Atticus (*Att.* xv. 15, 4), went to Athens in April, B.C. 45. **audientem** : *studying under*.

2. **Cratippum** : Cratippus, the Peripatetic of Mitylene, lectured on philosophy in his native city and afterwards in Athens. Through the friendly intervention of Cicero he was granted Roman citizenship by Caesar. Cicero regarded Cratippus as the head of the Peripatetic school at that time. Cf. I. 14 below ; II. 2, 8 ; III. 2, 5 ; and *Div.** I. 3, 5 : *Cratippusque familiaris noster, quem ego parem summis Peripateticis iudico*. In *Div.* II. 48, 100—53, 109, Cicero quotes from a work by Cratippus entitled *de Divinatione*. **idque** : for this use of the pronoun, see G. 308, R. 2 ; A. & G. 195, c ; B. 247, 4 ; H. 508, 2 ; L. 2367. † **praeceptis** : *practical rules*.

3. **institutis** : *principles*.

4. **quorum** : for this use of the masculine, see G. 614, 5, and 286, 2, a ; A. & G. 198, a ; B. 250, 2 ; H. 398, 1 ; L. 1096.

5. **ad . . . utilitatem** : *ad, for*, expresses purpose, and not result.

6. **Latina** : *Latin studies*.

7. **id** : refers to *cum Graecis Latina coniunxi*. **dicendi exercitatione** : cf. *Brut.* 90, 310 : *Commentabar declamitans . . . cotidie ; idque faciebam multum etiam Latine, sed Graece saepius* ; also *Or.* I. 34, 155 ; *Tusc.* II. 11, 26.

8. **idem** : here used instead of *sic, ita*, or *quoque*, as a correlative of *ut*. By a like form of anacoluthon, *id* and *hoc* are sometimes employed in the same way.—HEINE.

9. **utriusque orationis** : *the Greek and Latin languages* ; cf. *Hor., Carm.* III. 8, 5. Some editors, however, refer this to the oratorical and philosophical styles of discourse, as *lingua* is the usual term for *lan-*

* When no author is given, Cicero is intended.

† In the references to the grammars, G. = Gildersleeve (Gildersleeve-Lodge ed.) ; A. & G. = Allen & Greenough ; B. = Bennett ; H. = Harkness (1898 ed.) ; L. = Lane (complete ed.). References are also made to Madvig (Thacher's ed.).

guage. **Quam quidem ad rem:** *and in this respect*; namely, the use of Latin in philosophical discussions.

10. ut videmur: *sc. nobis*; for the personal construction, see G. 528, 1; A. & G. 330, b, 1; B. 332, b; H. 611, N. 2; L. 2179. **magnum**

attulimus . . . nostris: for a similar sentiment, cf. *Div. II. 2, 5: Magnificum illud etiam Romanisque hominibus gloriosum, ut Graecis de philosophia litteris non egeant; quod adsequar profecto, si instituta perfecero.*

12. docti: *the educated*; this term implies a knowledge of Greek and is here contrasted with *Graecarum litterarum rudes*.

14. quidem: used with Concessive force; *tamen*, l. 17, below, corresponds to it.

16. quantum proficias: an Indirect Question. **non paenitebit:** *shall not be dissatisfied.*

17. sed: the line of thought interrupted at *tam diu* is here resumed. **nostra:** i.e. this book. **a Peripateticis:** *from the principles of the Peripatetics.* In this form of comparison logical symmetry is sacrificed to brevity. The qualities of one person are compared directly

with a second person, and not with the corresponding characteristics of the latter. This usage is not uncommon; see Madvig 280, 2.

18. utrique: i.e. the Peripatetics and Cicero. The similarity of theory and teaching applied only to practical ethics. **Socratici et Platonici:** Cicero could claim to be a follower of Plato, inasmuch as he was an adherent of the New Academy in speculative philosophy. For an expression of Cicero's opinion of Socrates and his method, cf. *Tusc. v. 4, 10, 11: Socrates autem primus philosophiam devocavit e caelo et in urbibus conlocavit et in domus etiam introduxit et coegit de vita et moribus rebusque bonis et malis quaerere. . . nos id potissimum consecuti sumus, quo Socratem usum arbitrabamur, ut nostram ipsi sententiam tegeremus, errore alios levaremus et in omni disputatione, quid esset simillimum veri, quaereremus.*

19. rebus ipsis: *the subject-matter itself.* **utere:** the Future in an Imperative sense. It is coördinate with *efficiēs* in form, but subordinate to it in thought.

20. orationem: cf. l. 9: *utriusque orationis facultate.*

21. legendis nostris: to call attention to *nostra legens*, l. 17, above. **pleniorem:** *richer, more complete.*

22. velim: Potential Subjunctive. **Nam . . . vindicare:** on the order of clauses, see Madvig, 476, c, Obs., where this sentence is discussed; *quod est oratoris proprium* is brought forward from the clause *si . . . assumo* to contrast it with *philosophandi scientiam*.

24. apte . . . dicere: cf. *Or. III. 14, 53*; and *I. 31, 142: Cumque esset*

omnis oratoris vis ac facultas in quinque partis distributa, ut deberet reperire primum quid diceret, deinde inventa non solum ordine, sed etiam momento quodam atque iudicio dispensare atque componere; tum ea denique vestire atque ornare oratione; post memoria saepire; ad extremum agere cum dignitate ac venustate; also Quint. III. 5, 2.

28. de philosophia: note the attributive force. The adjective "philosophical" is lacking in Latin.

29. se aequarunt: Cicero had written about seventy orations at this time. We have record of more than one hundred delivered by him during his public career. For his leading philosophical works, see Introduction, 22.

32. et: equivalent to *et tamen*. **video:** with this use of *video*, cf. *Sen.* 19, 69: *scriptum video*; *N. D.* I. 26, 72: *videmus in scriptis*.

33. elaboraret: the clause of Result *ut...elaboraret* is in apposition with *id*. **sequereturque:** aimed at. It rounds out the meaning of *elaboraret*; *que* is thus used to add an expression which completes or extends the first.

34. disputandi: *disputo* is synonymous with *dissero* and *discepto*, and means to discuss, especially philosophical subjects, and not "to dispute."

35. nisi forte: used with the Indicative to limit the preceding statement; see G. 591, b, 2, R. 4.

Demetrius Phalereus: Demetrius

of Phalerum in Attica (B.C. 345-283) was more prominent as a statesman and orator than as a philosopher. He was the ruler of Athens from B.C. 317 to 307, and was the last of the famous Attic orators. In philosophy he belonged to the Peripatetic school. Losing his popularity, he was driven from Athens, and finally died in exile at Alexandria.

in hoc numero: equivalent to *in horum numero*. The form in the text is the type most frequently found in such expressions in Cicero.

36. disputator: for the meaning, see Note on *disputandi*, I. 34, above.

37. Theophrasti: Theophrastus, a native of Eresus in Lesbos, was the pupil of Plato and Aristotle and the successor of the latter as the head of the Peripatetic school. He died at an advanced age, 287 B.C. For his ability as an orator, cf. Quint. x. 1, 83: *Nam in Theophrasto tam est loquendi nitor ille divinus, ut ex eo nomen quoque traxisse dicatur*; also Gell. XIII. 5.

39. certe: restrictive in force; *at least*. **secuti:** for the meaning, see Note on *sequeretur*, I. 33, above.

40. Equidem...alterum: this sentence, like *Nec vero hoc arroganter...velim*, I. 21, was introduced for the sake of modesty, that

Cicero might not seem to claim too much credit for his own success.

Platonem: cf. *N. D.* II. 12, 32: *Audiamus enim Platonem quasi quendam deum philosophorum*; *Brut.* 31, 120: *Quis enim uberior in dicendo Platone?* and *Quint.* x. 1, 81: *Philosophorum... quis dubitet Platonem esse praecipuum sive acumine disserendi sive eloquendi facultate divina quadam et Homerica?* Plato, the Athenian philosopher, (b. c. 428-347), was the pupil of Socrates and the teacher of Aristotle. The Academic school owed its origin to him.

42. potuisse dicere: on the Perfect Infinitive in place of the Periphrastic, see *G.* 659, n.; *A. and G.* 337, b, 2; *B.* 321, 2, a; *H.* 647, 3; *L.* 2333.

Demosthenem: Demosthenes (b.c. 383-322), the most eminent of ancient orators, was for a time interested in philosophical studies; cf. *Brut.* 31, 121: *Lectitavisse Platonem studiose, audivisse etiam Demosthenes dicitur, idque apparet ex genere et granditate verborum.* Livy's opinion of Demosthenes' rank as an orator is given in *Quint.* x. 1, 39: *legendos Demosthenem atque Ciceronem, tum ita, ut quisque esset Demostheni et Ciceroni simillimus.*

43. tenuisset: i.e. if he had continued the study. **pronuntiare**: used in the sense of *exponere* or *enarrare*, to expound.—HEINE. **ornate splendideque**: cf. *Tusc.* I. 4, 7: *Hanc enim perfectam philosophiam semper iudicavi, quae de maximis quaestionibus copiose posset ornateque dicere.*

44. facere potuisse: see Note on *potuisse*, l. 42, above. With this use of *facere*, cf. *feci*, l. 8, above. It here takes the place of *pronuntiare*.

Aristotele: Aristotle of Stagira (b.c. 384-322), pupil of Plato and teacher of Alexander the Great, was the founder of the Peripatetic school of philosophy. Of his varied ability, Quintilian, x. 1, 83, thus speaks: *Quid Aristotelem? quem dubito scientia rerum an scriptorum copia an eloquendi suavitate an inventionum acumine an varietate operum clariorem putem.*

45. Isocrate: Isocrates (b.c. 436-338), friend of Socrates and Plato, was a noted teacher of rhetoric and oratory at Athens. For the influence of Isocrates upon Aristotle, cf. *Or.* III. 35, 141; and *Tusc.* I. 4, 7; *Sed ut Aristoteles, vir summo ingenio, scientia, copia, cum motus esset Isocratis rhetoris gloria, docere etiam coepit adulescentes dicere et prudentiam cum eloquentia iungere, sic nobis placet nec pristinum dicendi studium deponere et in hac maiore et uberiore arte versari.*

46. contempsit alterum: equivalent to *contempsit alterius studium*, lightly esteemed the other's pursuit. See Note on a *Peripateticis*, l. 17.

CHAPTER II.

47. *Sed*: this marks a return to the leading thought in the preceding chapter. Cicero sometimes used *verum* in this sense, but more frequently *sed*. See G. 486, n. *statuisssem... volui*: the tenses conform to the epistolary usage in Latin; see G. 252; A. & G. 282; B. 265; H. 539, 1; L. 1616.

49. *esset*: for the mood, see G. 631, 1; A. & G. 320; B. 283, 1; H. 591, 2; L. 1818.

50. *cum*: Concessive. *in philosophia*: see Note on *de philosophia*, l. 28, above.

51. *accurate*: *carefully*. *latissime patere*: to have the most general application; cf. l. 239: *latissime patet*; also l. 283; l. 300; l. 600; l. 1066.

52. *tradita et praecepta*: the two form practically one thought; cf. l. 59, below: *praeceptis tradendis*.

53. *Nulla... neque... neque*: the general negative is here subdivided by *neque... neque*; see G. 445.

56. *eoque*: *que* is here slightly Adversative in force; *et* is sometimes used in this way, where we should expect *et tamen*.

58. *Atque*: *and surely*; the second reason for writing on the subject of Moral Duties—the first being introduced by *Nam cum*, l. 50, above. *haec*: equivalent to *huius rei*; a Demonstrative or Relative in agreement with a substantive often has the force of a Genitive depending on the substantive. *quidem*: contrasted with *Sed*, l. 60, below. For this use of *quidem* to strengthen *haec*, see G. 307, R. 4.

59. *nullis... tradendis*: *without teaching any rules of duty*. For this use of the Ablative of the Gerund and Gerundive to denote way and manner, see Madvig, 416, 1.

61. *non nullae disciplinae*: *some schools of philosophy*, especially the Epicurean and Cyrenaic; cf. *Fin.* II. 11, 35 and *Tusc.* v. 30, 84. Note the difference between *non nullae*, *some*, and *nullae non*, *all*. *propositis*: *which they teach*; the participle represents a Relative clause.

62. *Nam qui... sic instituit*: cf. *Fin.* I. 9, 29: *Quaerimus igitur, quid sit extremum et ultimum bonorum; quod omnium philosophorum sententia tale debet esse, ut ad id omnia referri oporteat, ipsum autem nusquam. Hoc Epicurus in voluptate ponit, quod summum bonum esse vult, summumque malum dolorem*.

64. *suis*: note the meaning and the emphatic position of the reflexive Possessive.

65. *sibi... consentiat*: *be consistent*. *et non*: *and not rather*;

used with this force in a clause correcting a preceding condition; see Madvig, 458, *a*, 1. **naturae bonitate**: *natural, innate goodness*. Cf. l. 1373; and *Fin.* II. 18, 58: *plusque rectam naturam quam rationem pravam valere*.

66. **neque amicitiam . . . possit**: cf. *Am.* 6, 20: *nec sine virtute amicitia esse ullo pacto potest*.

67. **fortis . . . potest**: the subject of *potest* is indefinite, one of a class; cf. *qui . . . sic instituit* in the preceding sentence; *fortis* and *temperans* are in the predicate, corresponding to *iudicans* and *statuens*, respectively.

69. **Quae**: for this use of the Relative, see G. 610, 1; A & G. 180, *f*; B. 251, 6; H. 510; L. 1835.

70. **in promptu**: *clear, evident*. **disputatione . . . disputata**: for the meaning, see Note on *disputandi*, l. 34, above.

71. **alio loco**: cf. III. 33, 117; *Fin.* II. 12, ff.; and *Tusc.* IV. and V.

73. **nihil queant**: *queo* is used for the most part only in negative sentences, as here.

74. **coniuncta naturae**: equivalent to *naturae convenientia*, *corresponding to, in harmony with, human reason*.

75. **qui solam**: the Stoics. **qui maxime**: the Academics and Peripatetics. Cf. III. 8, 35: *Itemque, si ad honestatem nati sumus eaque aut sola expetenda est, ut Zenoni visum est, aut certe omni pondere gravior habenda quam reliqua omnia, quod Aristoteli placet, necesse est, quod honestum sit, id esse aut solum aut summum bonum*.

76. **Ita**: *accordingly*.

77. **praeceptio**: *the giving of rules*.

78. **Aristonis, Pyrrhonis, Erilli**: Aristo of Chias flourished about 250 B.C. He was a pupil of Zeno, but later, in his own philosophical teaching, departed from the doctrines of the Stoics. While regarding virtue as the highest good and vice as the greatest evil, he looked upon all external things as devoid of moral value. Pyrrho of Elis flourished about 330 B.C. and enjoyed the marked favor of Alexander the Great. In philosophy he was a sceptic, holding that certain knowledge on any subject is impossible for man. Virtue he regarded as the highest good. Erillus of Carthage, a pupil of Zeno, like Aristo modified the philosophy of the Stoics somewhat in formulating his own theory, and maintained that knowledge is the highest good and all external affairs of little account. **explosa . . . est**: *explodo* is often used by Cicero, as here, in the sense of *reject, disapprove*.

79. **haberent**: the Imperfect where we should expect the Pluperfect. The Imperfect refers to present time, as if these philosophers were still living.

80. *rerum aliquem dilectum* : the power of choosing is taken away by a philosophy that looks upon all external things as morally indifferent.

83. *non ut interpretes* : not as mere translator.

84. *quoque modo* : equivalent to *et qua ratione*.

88. *Panaetio* : see Introduction, 10.

89. *ratione* : methodically. *institutio* : instruction.

91. *disputetur* : a definition of *officium* would naturally be expected at this point, in conformity with the statements above, *Placet...ante definire*, l. 86 and *Omnis...institutio debet a definitione proficisci*, l. 88.

Some editors think that the proposed definition is really given in l. 103, not, however, of duty in general, but of the two forms of *officium*; but see Critical Note on l. 101. Others, apparently with more reason, hold that the definition has now been lost from the text. HOLDEN suggests, as its probable form, *omne igitur quod ratione actum est officium appellamus*, based upon Diog. Laert. VII. 107.

CHAPTER III.

91. *duplex est quaestio* : the discussion must be theoretical and practical—first, to determine the highest good and so to fix the ultimate standard of right; second, to set forth rules of conduct.

92. *finem bonorum* : referring to the *summum bonum*.

93. *alterum* : sc. *genus*. *Alter* is always used in the sense of one of two. *in praeceptis* : see Note on *duplex est quaestio*, l. 91, above; and cf. *praecepta traduntur*, l. 97, below. *quibus* : by which; introducing the final Subjunctive *possit*.

94. *conformari* : to be regulated. *Superioris generis* : referring to *unum genus*, l. 92, above.

95. *omniane officia perfecta* : philosophers like Aristo, Pyrrho, and Erillus, if consistent, must regard all duties perfect, since they hold that external things have no relation to the *summum bonum*.

96. *num quod officium...maius sit* : philosophers can discuss grades of duty only when they recognize degrees of worth in the practical affairs of life.

97. *generis eiusdem* : of like import. *Quorum...officiorum...ea* : equivalent to *Ea officia quorum*; the antecedent substantive has been attracted into the Relative clause.

98. *pertinent ad finem bonorum* : any discussion of practical duties and the rules of conduct which grow out of these must have reference to the highest good, the ultimate standard of right.

99. minus id apparet : referring to *pertinent ad finem bonorum* ; the application of the rule is more prominent than the fact that the rule itself rests on a correct principle.

100. de quibus : sc. *officiis*.

101. his libris : *in* is usually omitted when an entire book is referred to ; see G. 387 ; Madvig, 273, b., Obs. 1. **Atque . . . possit** (l. 108) : see Critical Appendix.

102. Nam : *namely*. **officium dicitur :** abbreviated for *officium est quod dicitur*.—HOLDEN.

103. vocemus : Potential Subjunctive.

104. καθήκον : the Stoics used this term in the sense of τέλειον καθήκον, which Cicero translated by *perfectum officium*, or *rectum* (from ορθός = *rectus*) ; cf. *Fin.* iv. 6, 15 : *Illud enim rectum est (quod καθήκον dicebas) contingitque sapienti soli*. The essential feature of duty in this higher sense is right motive, the will to do right. The fulfilment of such duty is the outward act of a perfect moral character, and is possible only for the ideal wise man. **commune officium . . . vocant :** Cicero translates the Stoic μέσον καθήκον or simply καθήκον, the fitting, by *medium officium*, *intermediate duty*, not in itself necessarily either good or bad ; cf. *Fin.* iii. 17, 58 : *Ex quo intellegitur officium medium quiddam esse, quod neque in bonis ponatur neque in contrariis*. In place of *medium*, *commune* is suggested, *common duty*, that which is within the reach of the average man and which pertains to the common welfare. The motive in duties of this kind is expediency, the end sought utility. Such a duty becomes καθήκον only when it is performed for the sake of the right and not for temporary advantage.

105. καθήκον : not found in the MSS., but inserted by most editors, as *Graeci* is the subject of *vocant*. The editors who reject καθήκον are not entirely in accord in their interpretation of the passage. **sic definiunt ut . . . definiant :** note the tautology, not altogether uncommon in definitions. See Note on *errore . . . arbitretur*, l. 1717 ; cf. *Fin.* iii. 17, 59 : *videmus esse quiddam quod recte factum appellemus, id autem est perfectum officium*.

107. quod cur . . . possit : cf. l. 1169 : *nec vero . . . probabilem reddere . . . officii* ; also *Fin.* iii. 17, 58 : *Est autem officium quod ita factum est, ut eius facti probabilis ratio reddi possit*. The *media officia* form the subject of this work.

108. igitur : this resumes the discussion interrupted at l. 101, and also marks Cicero's return to his authority, Panaetius.

109. Nam : see Note on *Nam*, l. 102, above.

110. dubitant : *they consider*.

112. *Tum autem*: this corresponds to *aut*, l. 110, above; it is less emphatic and formal than a repeated *aut* would be.

113. *anquirunt . . . consultant*: *anquiro*, to examine into, applies especially to philosophical investigations; *consullo* refers to deliberation, to the weighing of arguments. The two processes practically go together; for *aut* connecting kindred ideas, see L. 1668 (last example).

114. *facultates rerum*: the possession of property. *opes*: influence.

116. *necne*: or not; regularly used in Indirect Questions; *annon* in direct.

117. *in rationem*: under the head of. *Tertium*: see Note on *Tum autem*, l. 112, above.

118. *cum*: designating time merely, hence *videtur*.

119. *rapere . . . revocare*: appropriately used with *utilitas . . . honestas*.

121. *adferatque*: and brings to the consideration. *ancipitem*: twofold.

122. *Hac divisione*: by or in this division.—MÜLLER. *cum*: Concessive.

123. *duo praetermissa sunt*: sc. *a Panaetio*. The Stoics denied that there were degrees of good and evil.

124. *utrum . . . sit*: sc. *aliquid*; in indirect questions an indefinite subject is often omitted, as in this instance.

125. *utrum*: which of the two.

127. *Ita*: used with the force of *itaque*, accordingly, therefore. *triplicem . . . rationem*: a threefold division.

128. *Primum . . . tum . . . post*: less common in enumerations than *primum . . . deinde . . . tum*. This division is by books: I., II., III.

129. *dupliciter*: cf. *nec . . . solum . . . honestum . . . utrum honestius*, l. 123, above. *pari ratione*: equivalent to *dupliciter*. Cf. *itemque . . . utrum utilius*, l. 126, above.

130. *comparatione eorum*: the conflict between these; namely, the *honestum* and the *utile*.

CHAPTER IV.

131. *Principio*: employed in the sense of *primum*, first of all, i.e. in the order of discussion. For a similar use, cf. l. 1461 and III. 5, 21. If *principio* meant "at creation," as some editors translate it, *tributum est* would be a secondary tense, and *tueretur* would have been used instead of *tueatur*. *animantium*: living beings.

a natura: *natura* is personified. *est . . . tributum*: the subject is the series of clauses of Result, *ut . . . tueatur . . . declinet*, etc.

132. *vitam corpusque*: in explanatory apposition with *se*.

134. *latibula*: note its derivation from *lateo*, and its meaning, *a hiding-place*.

135. *Commune*: for this substantival use of the neuter adjective, see G. 211, c, 4; A. & G. 189, c; B. 234, 2; H. 394, 5; L. 1093.

138. *beluam*: cf. l. 1214; *bestia* is more commonly employed for *animal*, as distinguished from man. *tantum, quantum*: *only so much as*.

139. *quod adest . . . praesens est*: *praesens* strengthens the idea of the present, as contained in *adest*, in a local and temporal sense; cf. *Fin.* I. 17, 55: *Nam corpore nihil nisi praesens et quod adest sentire possumus, animo autem et praeterita et futura*.—HEINE.

140. *admodum*: like *fere* and *omnino*, *admodum* frequently follows the word it modifies, as in this instance. For the word for *very* in different Latin authors, see G. 439, N. 3.

142. *causas rerum videt*: for a similar passage, cf. *Fin.* II. 14, 45: *Homines enim . . . hoc uno plurimum a bestiis differunt, quod rationem habent a natura datam mentemque . . . quae et causas rerum et consecutiones videat et similitudines transferat et disiuncta coniungat et cum praesentibus futura copulet omnemque complectatur vitae consequentis statum.* *earumque*: this refers to *rerum*.

143. *praegressus*: see Critical Appendix. *quasi antecessiones*: *quasi* shows that *antecessio* is an unusual word. For the Stoic interpretation of *causae antecedentes*, cf. the quotation from Chrysippus, *Fato*, 18, 41: '*Causarum enim*,' inquit, '*aliae sunt perfectae et principales, aliae adiuvantes et proximae; quam ob rem cum dicimus omnia fato fieri causis antecedentibus, non hoc intellegi volumus, causis perfectis et principalibus sed causis adiuvantibus et proximis*.' MÜLLER regards *earumque . . . non ignorat* as in no sense superfluous, but intended to round out the meaning of *causas videt*, and thus to indicate the complete chain of causes. *similitudines*: *similar things*.

145. *facile . . . videt*: the principal clause of the sentence; *homo* is the subject; the clauses from *quod rationis* to *adnectit futuras* are subordinate.

146. *Eademque natura*: cf. l. 593: *Eius autem vinculum . . . societate*; also *Fin.* II. 14, 45. Cicero here considers man as a social being, impelled by the force of reason to found the family and establish the state.

149. *praecipuum quendam amorem*: cf. l. 136, above: *cura quaedam eorum*; *praecipuus amor* belongs to man as a rational being; *cura* to him in common with animals.

150. *hominum coetus et celebrationes*: this expression refers to the

state as formed from the union of families. Cf. *Som. Scip.* 3, 5: *Nihil est enim illi principi deo qui omnem mundum regit, quod quidem in terris fiat, acceptius quam concilia coetusque hominum iure sociati, quae civitates appellantur.*

152. *suppeditent*: dependent upon *parare*, and therefore in the Subjunctive. *cultum . . . victum*: in l. 1226 the order is *victus cultusque*; likewise in II. 4. 15. *victus* refers to the wants of the body; *cultus* to the refinements of life.

153. *tueri*: to care for, to protect; cf. *tueatur*, l. 132, above.

154. *ad rem gerendam*: for action, for the active duties of life.

155. *In primisque . . . aptissimum*: with this passage cf. *Fin.* II. 14, 46: *Et quoniam eadem natura cupiditatem ingenuit homini veri videndi, quod facillime apparet, cum vacui curis etiam, quid in caelo fiat, scire avemus, his initiis inducti omnia vera diligimus, id est fidelia, simplicia, constantia, tum vana, falsa, fallentia odimus, ut fraudem, periurium, malitiam, iniuriam.*

156. *veri . . . investigatio*: *veri inquisitio* is an inquiry after the truth; *veri investigatio*, a tracing of the truth, i.e. an attempt to discover the footprints of the truth. Two terms are used here, as often in Cicero, to secure a well-rounded expression, an earnest search for the truth. Cf. *praegressus . . . antecessiones*, l. 148, above. *cum*: merely Temporal; with the following *tum* it means at the time when.

158. *rerum . . . admirabilium*: cf. l. 1792, below; also *Fin.* III. 11, 37 and V. 19, 51: *Ipsi enim quaeramus a nobis, stellarum motus contemplationesque rerum caelestium eorumque omnium, quae naturae obscuritate occultantur, cognitiones quem ad modum nos moveant.*

159. *ad beate vivendum*: the full form, *ad bene beateque vivendum*, is a favorite expression of Cicero's; cf. l. 236, below; also *Sen.* 2, 4 and *Fin.* V. 29, 88; et passim.

160. *sincerumque*: for this use of *que*, see G. 481, 2, N.; A. & G. 208, b, 3; B. 341, 4, c; H. 657, 6, N.; L. 1651.

162. *veri . . . cupiditati*: see on *In primisque*, l. 155, above.

163. *animus bene informatus*: cf. *Am.* 13, 47: *animi bene constituti*; *Iuv.*, XIV. 34, 35: *iuvenes quibus arte benigna et meliore luto finxit praecordia Titan.*

164. *praecipienti*: see Critical Appendix. *utilitatis causa*: for the sake of the general welfare.

165. *ex quo . . . existit*: this refers to the third cardinal virtue, *fortitudo*.

166. *humanarumque rerum*: equivalent to *externarum rerum*, prosperity and adversity alike, as opposed to *virtus*, the *summum bonum*;

cf. l. 763: *Omnino fortis...ponitur*. **Nec vero...modus**: referring to the fourth cardinal virtue, *temperantia*.

167. illa...rationisque: *illa* is the subject, *parva vis* the predicate; *naturae rationisque*, of the natural reason, is an example of Hendiadys; cf. *natura ratioque*, l. 172, below. **quod...sentit**: in explanation of *illa*. **unum hoc animal**: this is the only being that.

169. eorum ipsorum: limiting *partium*. **quae...sentiantur**: visible things; *aspectabilis* was used by Cicero, *Tim.* 4, 13, but *visibilis* belongs to a later period.

171. quam similitudinem: for the force of *quam*, see Note on *haec*, l. 58, above.

172. ab oculis...transferens: the idea of beauty is transferred from material to intellectual and spiritual things; cf. *Fin.* II. 14, 47: *in quo inest ordo et moderatio. Cuius similitudine perspecta in formarum specie ac dignitate transitum est ad honestatem dictorum atque factorum*.

174. conservandam: see Critical Appendix. **putat cavetque...faciat**: the subject is *natura ratioque*, natural reason, which may be considered as practically equivalent to *homo*.

175. indecore effeminateve...libidinose: *indecore* is opposed to *pulchritudinem*; *effeminate* to *constantiam*; and *libidinose*, capriciously, to *ordinem*.

177. Quibus ex rebus: from the four cardinal virtues as constituent elements.

178. nobilitatum: equivalent to *multitudini probatum*.

179. tamen honestum...laudabile: in opposition to the view of Epicurus, *Fin.* II. 15, 48: *id solum dicitur honestum, quod est populari fama gloriosum*; for a definition of *honestum*, cf. *Fin.* II. 14, 45: *Honestum igitur id intellegimus, quod tale est, ut detracta omni utilitate sine ullis praemiis fructibusve per se ipsum possit iure laudari*.

180. nullo: in place of *nemine*; see G. 70, e; B. 57, 3; H. 188, 1.

CHAPTER V.

181. tamquam faciem: this expression shows that *honestum*, virtue, is here personified.

183. ut ait Plato: in *Phaedrus*, 250, d; Plato refers to *sapientia*; Cicero is referring to *honestum*; but the Stoics regarded *sapientia* as the basis of virtue. With this quotation from Plato, cf. *Fin.* II. 16, 52: '*Oculorum*,' inquit Plato, '*est in nobis sensus acerrimus*,

quibus sapientiam non cernimus. Quam illa ardentis amores excitaret sui'!

184. *id quattuor... aliqua*: cf. *Fin.* II. 16, 51: *Istorum enim verborum amore... sapientiae, fortitudinis, iustitiae, temperantiae, praestantissimis ingentis homines se ad philosophiae studium contulerunt.*

185. *aut enim... temperantia*: for the force of *enim*, see Note on *Nam*, l. 102, above. This passage describes the four cardinal virtues. Observe the use of *aut*, and the pairs of substantives in each part, *perspicientia, sollertia*; *societate, fide*; etc. *Sollertia* with *veri* means the *development of the truth*.

187. *contractarum*: Cicero uses *contraho* often in the business sense, *to make a contract*.

189. *ordine... modestia*: cf. ll. 1641-1655.

190. *Quae quattuor... implicata*: cf. *Fin.* v. 23, 67: *Atque haec coniunctio confusioque virtutum tamen a philosophis ratione quadam distinguitur.* According to the Stoic doctrine, *virtue*, in the highest sense, includes *prudentia, iustitia, fortitudo, temperantia*. The wise man, the ideal man, possesses all of these; the foolish man lacks all; there are no degrees of good and evil. The division into four cardinal virtues is, in the Stoic view, theoretical, merely for purposes of discussion.

192. *ex ea parte... inest*: an instance of anacoluthon; after the clause, *in qua... ponimus*, the construction is changed from *nascitur*, or a similar verb, which would follow *ex ea parte* naturally, to *inest*. *quae... discripta*: *which was given the first place in the division*.

193. *inest indagatio*: translate, *arises the duty of searching for*.

194. *eiusque virtutis*: referring to *sapientiam et prudentiam* above, taken together as forming one of the four parts of *honestum*.

195. *quisque... is*: another example of anacoluthon; the natural construction would be *et ut quisque... ita*; translate, *and as each one... so*.

198. *huic*: referring to *eiusque virtutis*, l. 194, above; and so to *sapientia*. *quasi materia*: *quasi* is expressed because *materia* is

very often taken in the sense of *building material, timber*, while here it means *subject-matter*.

200. *Reliquis... virtutibus*: the practical virtues, justice, fortitude, temperance. Wisdom, *sapientia*, finds its activity in searching for the truth, *veri investigatio*. *necessitates*: *human needs*; for the

use of the Plural, see Note on *reditus*, l. 232; some editors take this in the sense of *task*.

202. *actio vitae*: *active life, the business of life*. *continetur*:

is composed of, consists in. *societas...servetur*: the real end which justice seeks to attain.

203. *et animi...eluceat*: the manifestation and test of fortitude.

204. *sibi et suis*: the writer has a personal subject in mind.

205. *despiciendis*: *disdaining*. *Ordo...constantia...moderatio*: together equivalent to *temperantia*, the Greek *σωφροσύνη*. Translate *constantia*, *regularity*.

208. *actio quaedam*: i.e. *external activity*; cf. *actio vitae*, l. 202, above. *non solum mentis agitatio*: *not intellectual activity only*; *mentis agitatio* applies to *sapientia*; see Note on *Reliquis...virtutibus*, l. 200, above.

210. *adhibentes*: equivalent to a Conditional clause. *honestatem et decus*: for the relation of these terms to each other, cf. l. 1087.

CHAPTER VI.

211. *ex quattuor...locis*: cf. l. 177: *Quibus...conflatur*; l. 184: *quattuor partium...aliqua*. *locus* here means *point, division*. In the same sense *pars* and *ratio* are used, e.g. l. 184 and 117, respectively. *quos*: note the gender.

212. *naturam vimque*: *the essence*; cf. l. 1163: *vis...natura*; also *Fin.* I. 16, 50: *de iustitia...cum sua vi atque natura*. Cicero is fond of such word-couplets.

213. *attingit*: *relates to, appertains to*; for the thought, cf. l. 155: *In primisque...investigatio*; for a similar use of *attingere*, cf. l. 557.

214. *trahimur, ducimur*; *cognitionis, scientiae*: another illustration of Cicero's fondness for word-couplets to round out his thought. *ducimur* and *trahimur* may be distinguished as voluntary and involuntary, or as due to reason (*ducimur*), to instinct (*trahimur*).

216. *labi*: *to fall into error*. *errare*: *to wander from the truth*.
nescire: *to be ignorant*. *decipi*: *to be deceived*.

217. *in hoc genere*: referring to *in veri cognitione*, l. 212, above.
naturali: cf. *naturam attingit humanam*, l. 213, above.

219. *temere*: *thoughtlessly*. *assentiamur*: *give our approval to*.

221. *Alterum est vitium*: corresponding to *unum*, l. 218, above, but with construction changed, *unum* being followed by *ne* and *Alterum* by *quod*; for a similar instance, cf. l. 763: *duabus rebus...quarum una...Altera est res*.

223. *easdemque non necessarias*: *and also of no practical value*.

225. *operae curaeque*: depending upon *quod*, l. 224.

226. *ut*: *as for example*. *astrologia*: *astronomy*. *C. Sulpicium*: sc. *operam curamque posuisse*. *C. Sulpicius Galus* served as

military tribune under Aemilius Paulus in the war against Perseus of Macedon, 168 B.C. The night before the battle of Pydna, he announced to the Roman soldiers that an eclipse of the moon was about to take place. This timely warning prevented a panic and kept the men from regarding the strange phenomenon as an omen of evil import. Cf. Plin., *N. H.* II. 12 : also *Sen.* 14, 49. **audivimus** : the sentence may be translated, *We have heard what C. Sulpicius did in astronomy.*

227. Sex. Pompeium : the uncle of Pompey the Great, noted for his knowledge of law, mathematics, and Stoic philosophy.

228. dialecticis : for a definition, cf. *Or.* II. 38, 157 : *qui diceret artem se tradere bene disserendi et vera ac falsa diiudicandi, quam verbo Graeco διαλεκτικήν appellaret.*

229. cuius . . . officium est : for a fuller discussion of this point, cf. Ch. XLIII. The phrase *contra officium* is used with the copula to form the predicate. The Relative Clause is Adversative in force.

230. laus : not *praise*, but *praiseworthiness, merit.* **in actione** : see Note on *actio quaedam*, l. 208, above.

232. reditus : on the Plural of abstract substantives, see G. 204, 5 ; A. & G. 75, c ; B. 55, c ; H. 138, 2 ; L. 1109. The meaning of this sentence is well illustrated in Cicero's own course. **tum agitatio mentis** : moreover the natural activity of the mind ; cf. l. 208, above : *mentis agitatio.*

233. in studiis cognitionis : in the pursuit of learning.

234. sine opera nostra : without special effort on our part, i.e. the natural activity of the mind, even without special effort, will increase our knowledge.

235. motusque animi : cf. l. 1162 : *animi motus* ; l. 1522 : *motus animorum.*

236. ad bene . . . vivendum : see Note on l. 159, above.

237. ac . . . quidem : for the same expression, cf. l. 314.

CHAPTER VII.

239. tribus . . . reliquis : sc. *rationibus.* **latissime patet** : see Note on *latissime patere*, l. 51, above.

240. ratio : see Note on l. 211, above : *ex quattuor . . . locis.* **quasi communitas** : cf. l. 543 : *communitas ac societas vitae*, in which *quasi* is omitted ; *communitas* is rare except in the philosophical writings of Cicero.

241. cuius partes duae : sc. *sunt.* The second cardinal virtue is divided into *iustitia* and *beneficentia.*

242. viri boni: the predicate of *nominantur*, of which the subject is indefinite, *men*. For *viri boni* in the legal sense, cf. II. 11, 38: *iustitia, ex qua una virtute viri boni appellantur*; in the sense of good, but uncultured men, II. 1, 2: *verecor, ne quibusdam bonis viris philosophiae nomen sit invisum*; in the philosophical sense, *Tusc.* v. 10, 28: *omnibus enim virtutibus instructos et ornatos tum sapientes, tum viros bonos dicimus*.

243. eandem: also.

244. benignitatem vel liberalitatem: for the difference in meaning, note the derivation. **appellari licet**: the dependent Infinitive may be in the passive, as here, or in the active.

245. ut ne: for *ne*; more common in older Latin, but used in all periods, though not found in Sallust, Caesar, or Livy; see G. 545, R. 1; L. 1947.

nisi lacessitus iniuria: cf. l. 275: *qui autem... deserat*; and III. 19, 76: *se ipse doceat eum virum bonum esse, qui prosit quibus possit, noceat nemini nisi lacessitus iniuria*.

246. deinde... suis: the second duty of *iustitia* is to respect the rights of property. For the meaning of *communibus*, cf. II. 607-620; *suis* refers to the subject of *utatur*, but is practically equivalent to *privatis*. DETTWEILER suggests a comparison between this passage and the Tenth Commandment.

247. Sunt... discriptio: the origin of the rights of private property.

248. vetere occupatione: the rule of law is *res nullius cedit occupanti*. Morey's *Roman Law*, p. 303. **ut qui**: equivalent to *ut tenent occupatione (ei)*, *qui*; for this construction, cf. l. 383: *nulla peccantur, ut ille, qui*.

249. vacua: i.e. without an owner.

250. lege: the State gave public lands to towns or colonies by special law. **pactione**: equivalent to *pactum*, the general legal term for *agreement, contract*. **condicione**: *stipulation*. **sorte**: *by lot*. This method was employed in dividing public land among colonists or soldiers, and sometimes in distributing property among heirs.

251. Arpinatium: predicate Possessive Genitive; for the form, see G. 54; A. & G. 54, 3; B. 40; II. 106, 5; L. 538. Cicero was born at Arpinum. **Tusculanus**: sc. *ager*. One of Cicero's favorite villas was at Tusculum.

252. discriptio: *distribution, distinction*. **Ex quo**: referring to l. 247: *Sunt autem... sorte*.

253. suum... eorum: *suum*, equivalent to *proprium*, the property, is in the predicate with *fit*; *aliquid*, or a similar word, understood and limited by *eorum*, is the subject of *fit*.

254. *e quo*: see Critical Appendix.

255. *appetet*: the Latin is more exact than the English in the use of the Future in subordinate clauses; see G. 242, 1.

256. *a Platone*: *Ep. IX. ad Archyt.*, 358, *a*; cf. *Fin. II. 14, 45*: *ut ad Archytam scripsit Plato, non sibi se soli natum meminerit, sed patriae, sed suis, ut perexigua pars ipsi relinquatur.*

257. *ortusque nostri*: *but of our existence*; for this Adversative use of *que* in a positive clause following a negative, see L. 1655; Madvig 433, 2.

258. *ut placet... omnia creari... generatos*: an example of anacoluthon; *creari* and *esse generatos* are made to depend on *placet*. We should expect *ut placet... gignuntur... omnia creantur... sunt generati*; for the regular construction, cf. *quoniam ut scriptum est... nati sumus... vindicat* above; for a like thought, cf. *Fin. III. 20, 67*: *Praeclare enim Chrysippus, cetera nata esse hominum causa et deorum, eos autem communitatis et societatis suae, ut bestiis homines uti ad utilitatem suam possent sine iniuria.*

260. *inter se aliis alii*: for a similar expression, cf. *N. D. I. 43, 121*: *Ita fit ut... sed ipsi dei inter se ab aliis alii neglegantur*. For the reciprocal force of *aliis alii*, and for the redundancy of expression, see G. 221, 1.

261. *in hoc*: explained by *afferre* and *devincire*.

262. *communes... afferre*: cf. l. 619: *semper aliquid ad communem utilitatem afferendum*.

263. *dando accipiendo*: in explanation of *mutatione officiorum*; note the asyndeton. *artibus*: cf. l. 1747: *Quibus... artibus*, etc.

264. *facultatibus*: see Note on l. 114, above.

266. *dictorum*: *promises*. *Ex quo*: for a similar case of anacoluthon, cf. l. 192, above: *ex ea parte... inest*, and see Note on the same. We should expect *Ex quo appellata est fides quia fit*, etc. The clause *tamen audeamus* harmonizes with *quamquam hoc videbitur*, but not with *Ex quo*.

267. *durius*: somewhat forced.

268. *Stoicos... ducta*: for Cicero's opinion of such etymologies, cf. *N. D. III. 24, 62*: *Saturnus, quia se saturat annis, Mavors, quia magna vertit, Minerva, quia minuit aut quia minatur, Venus, quia venit ad omnia, Ceres a gerendo... Quid Veiovi facies, quid Volcano? quamquam, quoniam Neptunum a nando appellatum putas, nullum erit nomen, quod non possis una littera explicare unde ductum sit; in quo quidem magis tu mihi natare visus es quam ipse Neptunus.*

269. *quod dictum est*: an individual fact, and therefore the mood of *dictum est* is not affected by *fiat*.

270. *fidem*: Cicero seems to derive *fides* from *fio* and *dico*; but the root is *fid* (*unite*), cognate with $\pi\iota\theta$, the root of $\pi\epsilon\iota\theta\omega$.

274. *aliqua*: this may be rendered, *some other*; *aliquis* is sometimes equivalent to *aliquis alius*; see L. 2391.

276. *defendit*: *ward off*; sc. *iniuriam*; cf. III. 18, 74: *non defendit iniuriam*. *in vitio*: for similar expressions cf. l. 722: *in vitio*; l. 518: *in...iniustitia*; l. 559: *in officio*.

278. *illae*: referring to the former of the two kinds of injustice mentioned in ll. 271-273.

280. *cogitat*: cf. l. 311; *cogitata...iniuria*; l. 350: *cogitationem iniuriae*. *id fecerit*: see Note on *facere potuisse*, l. 44, above.

281. *Maximam...partem*: *for the most part*.

282. *adgrediuntur*: sc. *homines*; the subject is implied in the adverbial expression, *Maximam partem*, i.e. *most men*.

283. *in quo vitio*: referring to *ad iniuriam...ut adipiscantur ea*. *latissime patet*: see Note on *latissime patere*, l. 51, above.

CHAPTER VIII.

284. *cum...voluptates*: the two general reasons for seeking wealth.

285. *perfruendas voluptates*: for the transitive use of the Gerundive of *fruor* and the other deponents which regularly govern the Ablative, see G. 407, 2; A. & G. 296, Rem.; B. 339, 4; H. 623, 1; L. 1380.

286. *maior...animus*: *greater ambition*. *pecuniae*: *property*, or *wealth*, of any kind.

287. *opes*: see Note on l. 114, above. *nuper*: at least ten years before. As a temporal particle *nuper* varies in meaning; the period denoted by it is determined by the context.

288. *M. Crassus*: Crassus united with Caesar and Pompey in the so-called First Triumvirate. He fell in battle against the Parthians at Carrhae, 53 B.C. Crassus was noted as the wealthiest Roman of his day.

289. *cuius...posset*: a Relative clause of Condition. *fructibus*: *income*.

290. *magnifici apparatus*: i.e. elegant homes with appropriate furniture and decorations; *magnifici apparatus* together with *ad opes...facultatem* may be considered as coming under the second general reason for seeking wealth, namely, *ad perfruendas voluptates*.

291. *cultus*: see Note on *cultum...victum*, l. 152, above. *cum elegantia et copia*: equivalent to *elegans et copiosus*. A prepositional phrase is often thus used with attributive force, especially when no

suitable adjective is available; cf. l. 311: *brevis est et ad tempus*.
quibus rebus: i.e. the reasons given for seeking wealth.

292. *esset*: for the tense, see G. 511, 3; A. & G. 287, a; B. 268; H. 546; L. 1717.

293. *nemini nocens*: the participle has the force of a Conditional clause; cf. *adhibentes*, l. 210.

294. *Maxime . . . inciderunt*: ambition is the third cause of injustice.

296. *imperatorum honorum*: *military and civil offices*; *imperium* applies to the authority given to a dictator, consul, or praetor to command an army as the representative of the State.

297. *apud Ennium*: Ennius (B.C. 239–169), “the father of Roman poetry,” was the author of a historical poem, *Annales*, and also of a number of tragedies. Of his many works, only fragments have come down to us.

298. *Nulla . . . est*: this is probably from the *Thyestes*. The half verses form the end and beginning of two trochaic septenarii. STICKNEY compares Lucan l. 92:

Nulla fides regni sociis omnisque potestas
 Impatiens consortis erit.

300. *id latius patet*: the sentiment of the quotation has a still wider application; see Note on l. 51, above.

303. *modo*: this particle varies in its exact meaning, but usually refers to a point of time less remote than that indicated by *nuper*.
C. Caesaris: C. Julius Caesar, the dictator, was assassinated March 15, 44 B.C., a few months before Cicero wrote this book.

305. *errore*: cf. *de philosophia*, l. 28; the adjective “erroneous” seems to be lacking in the Latin of this period.

principatum: it may be rendered *sovereignty*. The term Principate is used to designate the empire established by Augustus.

Est autem . . . cupiditates: cf. l. 738: *Sed illud odiosum . . . cupiditas principatus innascitur*. For the Plural, *cupiditates*, see Note on *reditus*, l. 232, above.

308. *cavendum est, ne*: for the constructions possible with *cavere*, see G. 548, 3.

309. *in omni iniustitia*: *in every act of injustice*.

310. *perturbatione*: cf. l. 274, above: *aliqua perturbatione incitatus*.

311. *ad tempus*: *for a short time*; see Note on *cum elegantia*, l. 291, above; and *cuius . . . officium est*, l. 229, above.

consulto et cogitata: for a similar combination of adverb and adjective, cf. l. 1581: *raro invitique veniemus*. This usage is more common in later Latin. See Critical Appendix.

312. *Leviora*: this is not in harmony with the teaching of the Stoics, who did not recognize degrees of good and evil. *motu*: this is practically synonymous with *perturbatione* above; cf. l. 1571: *ut perturbationes... id est motus animi nimios*.

313. *meditata*: *planned, premeditated*; often used by Cicero in this sense; see L. 1492. *praeparata*: referring to material preparation.

314. *Ac de... quidem*: see Note on l. 237; and cf. l. 271: *unum eorum qui inferunt*. *satis dictum*: cf. l. 506: *satis dictum*; l. 702: *satis... diximus*.

CHAPTER IX.

315. *Praetermittendae... causae*: cf. l. 272: *alterum eorum... iniuriam*. *deserendique*: see Note on *sequereturque*, l. 33.

316. *nam aut*: for the force of *nam*, see Note on l. 102. The first *aut* corresponds to *aut etiam*; in the other instances (before *laborem, sumptus, suis*), *aut* is subordinate.

317. *nolunt*: the subject is indefinite, *homines* understood; see Note on *adgrediuntur*, l. 282.

320. *videndum est*: to be taken in the sense of *verendum est*. *ne non satis sit id*: *lest that be not enough, lest that be unsatisfactory*.

321. *apud Platonem*: in the *Republic* vi. p. 485, ff. *in philosophos*: *in* here means *about* or *concerning* philosophers; for this use of *in*, see Madvig 230.

322. *quod... versentur quodque... contemnunt et... putent*: subordinate to *iustos esse*.

324. *digladiari*: this word seems to be peculiar to Cicero. *contemnunt et pro nihilo putent*: for the same expression, cf. l. 827.

325. *iustos esse*: dependent upon *est... dictum*. *Nam... deserunt*: see Critical Appendix.

326. *ut... ne*: see Note on l. 245. *in alterum incidunt*: see Critical Appendix.

327. *quos... deserunt*: cf. l. 277: *quam si parentes... deserat*.

329. *putat*: sc. *Plato*; in the *Republic* i. p. 347, c. *erat*: for the mood, see G. 254, 1 and 2; A. & G. 264, b; B. 271, b; H. 525, 2; L. 1496. *id fieri*: see Note on *facere potuisse*, l. 44.

330. *voluntate*: with the force of *sponte*. *ita... si*: *only on condition... that*; cf. *ita... ut*, l. 1020. *quod recte fit*: to be taken with *hoc ipsum*.

332. *suum*: emphatic, *their own only*.

333. *nec... videantur*: sc. *sibi*; *without seeming to themselves*.

334. *Qui... incurrunt*: cf. l. 325: *Nam... incidunt*.

335. *deserunt...societatem*: cf. l. 327: *quos...deserunt*; and l. 277: *parentes...amicos...patriam deserat*.

336. *facultatum*: *wealth*.

337. *Quando*: *since*; used by Cicero in this sense nine times, but not in his orations.—MÜLLER.

339. *continetur*: a dependent interrogative clause or Indirect Question; for the tense, see Note on *esset*, l. 292. We might have expected the relative construction, *easque res ante constituimus quibus iustitia continetur*.

340. *cuiusque temporis*: i.e. on every occasion. *nosmet ipsos*: this emphasizes the object, while *ipsi* would make the subject emphatic; see G. 311, 2.

341. *amabimus*: for the difference between the Latin and the English in the use of the Future in subordinate clauses, see Note on l. 255.

342. *Quamquam*: corrective in force, and yet. Terentianus ille Chremes: Terence, *Heaut.* 75–8.

ME. Chremés, tantumne ab ré tuast oí tibi,
Aliéna ut cures éa quae nil ad te áttinent?

CH. Homó sum: humani níl a me alienúm puto.

343. *humani nihil*: *nothing that belongs to mankind*; the reference is to the good or evil that may befall men.

345. *nobis ipsis*: cf. *nosmet ipsos*, above.

347. *aliter...ac*: *otherwise...than*; for this usage, see G. 643.

348. *agere*: the subject is indefinite; sc. *nos*, or *homines*. *quod dubites*: a Conditional clause.

350. *cogitationem*: cf. l. 280: *qui...cogitat*; and l. 311: *consulto et cogitata*. If the justice of any course of action is not clear, beyond a doubt, it is safer to refrain from it.

CHAPTER X.

351. *incidunt...cum*: with this construction, cf. III. 12, 50: *incidunt...cum...videatur*; III. 10, 40: *incidunt...quae conturbent*; l. 1854: *non potest accidere tempus ut intersit*.

352. *eoque*: see Note on *idque*, l. 2.

353. *virum bonum*: cf. *viri boni*, l. 242, and see Note.

354. *depositum*: *depositum* is a contract by which the owner entrusts a thing to another for safe keeping, without pay. Morey, *Roman Law*, pp. 82 and 357; it is also used for the thing deposited.

355. *migrare*: *to violate*; the opposite of *servare*.

356. *Referri*: the cases mentioned above, *ut reddere...quaeque pertinent...fidem*.

357. posui principio: in Ch. vii., the beginning of the discussion of justice. **fundamenta iustitiae:** i.e. the fundamental requirements of justice.

358. Ea...commutantur: the sentence is not clear; *ea* refers grammatically to *fundamenta*; but the principles of justice cannot change, only the circumstances under which they are applied.

359. commutatur: note the chiasmic arrangement.

360. promissum...ut: *ut* does not depend upon *accidere*; *tale* or a similar expression is to be understood as correlative to *ut*; see Note on *incidunt...cum*, l. 351.

361. inutile: *injurious*; so in l. 1019; and in II. 14, 49, and elsewhere.

362. ut in fabulis est: the scholiast on Euripides, *Hipp.* 1349, says that Theseus requested from Neptune a safe return from Hades; an escape from the Labyrinth; and the death of Hippolytus.

364. Theseus: a mythical king of Athens; for the legends concerning him, see Class. Dict.

365. quod...optavit: his third wish was the death of Hippolytus.

366. in maximos luctus: cf. III. 25, 94: *Quid, quod Theseus exegit promissum a Neptuno? cui cum tres optationes Neptunus dedisset, optavit interitum Hippolyti filii, cum is patri suspectus esset de noverca; quo optato impetrato Theseus in maximis fuit luctibus.*

368. si...noceant...est: for the Present Indicative in the apodosis with the Present Subjunctive in the protasis, see G. 596, 1, second paragraph; L. 2074 and 2078.

370. ut: *as for example*; see Note on l. 226. **si constitueris cuipiam:** the apodosis is *non sit contra*; see Madvig 370, 1, where this passage is cited. *constituo* here means *to agree with one, to make an appointment*.

371. advocatum: the *advocatus* advised and aided a litigant in the conduct of his case, but did not act as a pleader (*causidicus, causae actor*). **in rem praesentem...venturum:** *to go to the very place, to appear in court*.

373. magisque: for the force of *que*, see Note on *ortusque*, l. 257.

375. Iam: *furthermore*; a particle of transition, in which use it is often accompanied by *vero*. **illis...standum:** for the Ablative with *stare* without *in*, cf. III. 25, 95: *stare conventis*; also Livy, XXI. 19, 4: *si priore foedere staretur*.

377. iure praetorio: *the edicts of the praetors*. For the character of the praetorian law and its value in supplementing and correcting the civil law in the line of equity, see Morey, *Roman Law*, pp. 61-63. **liberantur:** *annulled*.

378. legibus : *statutes*; cf. III. 15, 61: *Atqui iste dolus malus et legibus erat vindicatus, ut in tutela duodecim tabulis, circumscriptio adolescentium lege Plaetoria, et sine lege iudiciis.*

379. calumnia : explained by *et...interpretatione.*

380. sed malitiosa : *sed* is here equivalent to *quin etiam, et quidem, and indeed*; for this use of *sed*, generally explained as an imitation of colloquial Latin, cf. Plaut., *Rud.* 799; Vell., II. 88, 2: *equestri sed splendido genere*; Juv., V. 147.

381. Summum ius... iniuria : *sc. est*; *est* and *sunt* are often omitted, especially in proverbs and short statements; for the expression, cf. Terence, *Heaut.* 796: *ius summum saepe summa est malitia*; also Caec. 23: *tum vociferantur ex aequo et bono, non ex callido versutoque iure rem indicari oportere, scriptum sequi calumniatoris esse bonique iudicis voluntatem scriptoris auctoritatemque defendere.*

383. in re publica : this, as the context shows, refers to affairs between different nations; cf. I. 401: *Atque...belli*; also III. II, 46: *Sed utilitatis specie in re publica saepissime peccatur.* **ille :**

Cleomenes, king of Sparta, in war against Argos. The Thracians are said to have been guilty of similar conduct in war with the Boeotians.

386. noster : *our countryman*; in opposition to *ille*, which here refers to a Greek, or possibly a Thracian. **Q. Fabium Labeonem :**

a case of anacoluthon. We should expect *Q. Fabius Labeo probandus est*; instead *Labeonem* is the subject of *locutum esse* and depends upon *si verum est*. Q. Fabius Labeo was the grandson of Q. Fabius Maximus Cunctator and consul with M. Claudius Marcellus, 183 B.C. Cicero commends his ability as an orator, *Brut.* 21, 81.

387. nihil...auditum : *for I know only that which I have heard*; *auditum* is a participle.

388. Nolanis et Neapolitanis : Nola and Neapolis (Naples) were in Campania.

389. ad locum : cf. I. 371: *in rem praesentem*, the expression used by Val. Max., VII. 3, 4, in narrating this incident.

391. atque : *but*; see Note on *magisque*, I. 373. **regredi quam progredi :** i.e. to claim less and not more than really belonged to them.

394. adiudicavit : *awarded.*

395. Quocirca : *wherefore*, referring to the example just given. In this sense *quare, quoniam, quae cum ita sint* are more common.

—DETTWEILER.

CHAPTER XI.

397. adversus : *towards*; for a similar use, cf. I. 497; II. 1137, 1146; III. 6, 28: *etiam adversus deos immortales impii iudicandi sunt.*

399. modus: limit. **haud scio an:** *I am inclined to think;* used with an affirmative force in Cicero; about equivalent to *forsitan*, or *fortasse*, and the Potential Subjunctive. **qui lacessierit:** cf. l. 245: *nisi lacessitus iniuria*.

400. paenitere: construed with *eum iniuriae*. **ut et ipse...** **posthac:** sc. *faciat*; cf. l. 936: *ne quid... crudeliter*; also Seneca, *de Clem.* i. 22: *haec tria lex secuta est... aut ut eum quem punit emendet, aut ut poena eius ceteros meliores reddat, aut ut sublati malis securiores ceteri vivant*.

402. in re publica: see Note on l. 383.

403. disceptationem: cf. *disceptatione*, l. 747; *disceptationibus*, l. 1528; *disputatio* is used in the sense of philosophical discussion.

405. posterius... superiore: note *unum... alterum, illud... hoc*, above. **si:** *only on condition*.

406. Quare... vivatur: cf. l. 920: *Bellum autem... videatur*.

408. conservandi ii: cf. l. 937: *punire sones, multitudinem conservare*.

409. maiores nostri Tusculanos... acceperunt: cf. ii. 8, 26: *Verum tamen quam diu imperium populi Romani beneficiis tenebatur, non iniuriis, bella aut pro sociis aut de imperio gerebantur, exitus erant bellorum aut mites aut necessarii*. Tusculum was incorporated with the Roman commonwealth, 381 B.C.; the Aequi were conquered and almost exterminated, 304 B.C.; the power of the Volscians was broken with the fall of the Latin League, 338 B.C., and many of their towns received Roman citizenship, 268 B.C.; the Sabines were given partial rights, 290 B.C., full citizenship, 268 B.C.; the Hernicans were subdued, 306 B.C., and three of their towns were allowed to enjoy the rights of allied states (*foederatae civitates*), while the others were compelled to accept citizenship without the right of suffrage (*civitas sine suffragio*).

411. Karthaginem et Numantiam: Carthage was destroyed by the Romans under Scipio Africanus Minor in the third Punic war, 146 B.C. Scipio also captured and completely destroyed Numantia, in Spain, 133 B.C.

412. nollem Corinthum: *nollem* is Potential Subjunctive, the Imperfect indicating that the wish cannot now be fulfilled; *I wish that they had not destroyed Corinth*. Cf. Vell., i. 13, 1: *Eodem anno, quo Carthago concidit, L. Mummius Corinthum post annos nongentos quinquaginta duos, quam ab Alete Hippos filio erat condita, funditus eruit*. Cf. ii. 22, 76: *L. Mummius numquid copiosior cum copiosissimam urbem funditus sustulisset?* **aliquid secutos:** i.e. they had a special reason for what they did, as explained in the fol-

lowing passage. **opportunitatem loci**: cf. *Manil.* 5, 11: *Corinthum patres vestri totius Graeciae lumen extinctum esse voluerunt.* Corinth not only occupied a strategic position on the isthmus which connects Greece and the Peloponnesus, but was also a centre of trade and a rival of Rome in commerce.

416. In quo...optemperatum: Cicero made repeated attempts to effect a reconciliation between Caesar and Pompey before the outbreak of hostilities.

417. quae nunc...est: *which, as it is (nunc), does not exist at all*; *nulla* is used instead of *non*, with an intensive signification; this usage with *nullus* is common, especially in familiar language; see G. 317, 2, N. 2. With this passage cf. II. I, 3: *Atque utinam res publica stetisset, quo coeperat, statu nec in homines non tam commutandarum quam evertendarum rerum cupidus incidisset!...Cum autem res publica, in qua omnis mea cura, cogitatio, opera poni solebat, nulla esset omnino.* Cicero looked with special alarm upon Antony's ascendancy after Caesar's death.

418. deviceris: for this use of the Perfect Subjunctive with Future meaning, see G. 257, 2 and N. 1; A. & G. 311, a; B. 280, 1; H. 554, 2; L. 1558.

419. fidem: *protection.* **confugient**: the Future is used where we might expect the Present Subjunctive; for other examples, cf. II. 511; 543; 1013; 1576; 1648; 1715; 1727; 1760.

420. quamvis...percusserit: the Romans showed mercy to towns that surrendered before their walls were struck by the battering-ram. If they capitulated afterwards, they were generally given over to plunder. **recipiendi**: sc. *in fidem*.

423. patroni: the most noted protectors of conquered cities and states were the Marcelli for the Sicilians, the Aemilii for the Macedonians, and the Scipios, *patroni* of the African provinces.

424. fetiali...iure: the *Fetiales*, a college of twenty priests, were the guardians of the public faith. In time of war they demanded restitution, made solemn declaration of hostilities, and had charge of the formal ratification of peace. *Dict. Antiq.* Cf. *Rep.* II. 17, 31; also Livy, I. 24 and 32.

425. Ex quo: i.e. the fetial law.

426. rebus repetitis: in the case of a conditional declaration of war, satisfaction was first demanded, and if not rendered within thirty days war could be declared. **aut denuntiatum...et indictum**: this refers to an unconditional declaration of war, when restitution could not be made, or when war had been already declared by the enemy.

427. Popilius ... movendo: see Critical Appendix. M. Popilius Laenas was consul, 173 B.C., and gained a decisive victory over the Ligurian mountaineers. His brother, C. Popilius Laenas, was consul in the following year.

436. quidem: often used to introduce an illustration; if the bracketed passage be rejected, *quidem* connects the sentence with *Ex quo...indictum*. **est epistula:** a letter is extant.

437. filium: M. Porcius Cato, son of Cato Maior, died 152 B.C., praetor elect.

438. consule: L. Aemilius Paulus, who defeated Perseus of Macedon in the battle of Pydna, 168 B.C., and thus completed the conquest of Macedonia. This version conflicts with the one above, as Popilius was not a commander in the war with Perseus. ZUMPT would reject *cum in Macedonia...esset*.

440. pugnare: used with *ius esse* instead of the Genitive of the Gerund; see G. 428, N. 2; A. & G. 298, N.; B. 330; H. 608, 4, N. 2; L. 2211.

CHAPTER XII.

441. illud: the following, explained by the clause *lenitate...mitigatam*. **quod...is...vocaretur:** a Causal clause in Indirect Discourse. MÜLLER regards it as Explanatory rather than Causal.

442. perduellis: from *per-duellum*, in which *duellum* is archaic for *bellum*, like *duis* (from *duo*) for *bis*; cf. III. 29, 107: *nam pirata non est ex perduellium numero definitus, sed communis hostis omnium*. **hostis:** stranger, in old Latin; cognate with English guest.

445. duodecim tabulae: the Twelve Tables of the Law were prepared by the decemviri and adopted by the people, 451, 450 B.C. The laws were affixed to the rostra in front of the senate-house where all the people could read them. Livy, III. 34, 6, calls the Twelve Tables *fons omnis publici privatique iuris*; see Liddell, *Hist. Rome*, Chs. x. and xi. **Status...Hoste:** a day appointed with a stranger for appearance in court; cf. Plaut., *Cure.* 5: *si status condictus cum hoste intercedit dies*.

446. Adversus...Auctoritas: sc. *esto*; against a foreigner the right of ownership shall be everlasting. A citizen could acquire ownership by prescription, *usucapio*, i.e. by undisturbed possession for a period of time designated by law. A foreigner could not gain such right against a citizen by possession for any length of time.

448. quicum: the Ablative Singular *qui* for all genders belongs to early Latin; Cicero prefers *quicum* to *quocum* and *quacum*. ap-

pellare : in apposition with *mansuetudinem* ; see also Note on *pugnare*, l. 440.

449. *Quamquam* : see Note on l. 342. a peregrino . . . recessit : for it has lost its meaning of stranger.

450. *qui arma contra ferret* : contrasted with *peregrino*.

453. *paulo ante* : l. 406.

454. *quibus* : in the Dative.

456. *cum altero . . . honoris* : referring to *competitor* ; *cum altero capitis* refers to *inimicus*, an example of the chiasitic arrangement.

458. *cum Celtiberis* : Numantia, the capital of the Celtiberians, was destroyed by the Romans ; see Note on l. 411. *cum Cimbris* : the Cimbri were completely annihilated by the Romans under Marius and Catulus at Vercellae, 101 B.C.

459. *uter esset* : sc. *ut decerneretur* ; *esset* is here equivalent to *viveret*.

460. *cum Latinis* : the Romans conquered a number of Latin towns in the time of King Tullus Hostilius and Ancus Marcius. The great and successful war against the Latin league took place 340-338 B.C. *Sabinis* : see Note on l. 410. *Samnitibus* : the three Samnite wars occurred 343-341 ; 326-304 ; 298-290 B.C. Later the Samnites aided Pyrrhus against the Romans. *Poenis* : the three wars were 264-241 ; 218-201 ; 149-146 B.C. *Pyrrho* : Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, entered Italy, 280 B.C., to aid the Tarentines against Rome. In 274 B.C. he was defeated in the battle of Beneventum and compelled to leave Italy.

461. *Poeni . . . Hannibal* : cf. Livy, XXI. 40, 11 : *cum foederum ruptore duce ac populo* ; Am., 8, 28 : *cum duobus ducibus de imperio in Italia est decertatum, Pyrrho et Hannibale : ab altero propter probitatem eius non nimis alienos animos habemus, alterum propter crudelitatem semper haec civitas oderit*. Horace calls Hannibal *dirus, perfidus*, *Carm.* IV. 4, 42, 49. The Romans could not speak fairly of the man who had fought so long and so successfully against them.

463. *illa praeclara* : sc. *sunt*. The lines are from the sixth book of the "Annals of Ennius." C. Fabricius was the chief of the commission sent to Pyrrhus after the battle of Heraclea, 280 B.C., to offer a large ransom for Roman captives. The supposed reply of Pyrrhus is here given.

464. *dederitis* : the Perfect Subjunctive in a prohibition. The penult is long in quantity.

465. *cauponantes bellum* : *waging war for gain*. This is an imitation of Aeschylus, *Sept. contra Theb.* 545, *καπηλεύσειν μάχην*.

466. *vitam cernamus* : equivalent to *de vita decernamus*.

467. *era . . . Fors*: *dame Fortune*.

468. *accipe*: addressed to Fabricius, the leader of the embassy.

469. *pepercit*: we should expect *pepercerit*; MÜLLER thinks that *pepercit* may be due to the metre.

470. *Eorundem*: to be read as a trisyllable. certum est: sc. *mihi*.

471. *Dono . . . doque*: some editors take *dono* as equivalent to *muni* with *ducite*; it is better to regard it as a verb: translate *dono doque*, *I give and present*; *ducite* is addressed to the three envoys. *volentibus . . . dis*: a regular formula for wishing. The ultima of *volentibus* is short; in early Latin final *s* does not make position with another consonant.

472. *Aeacidarum genere*: Pyrrhus claimed descent from Achilles, grandson of Aeacus. According to mythology, Aeacus was the son of Jupiter and Europa.

CHAPTER XIII.

473. *singuli*: having spoken of the relation of states to each other in time of war, Cicero now discusses the duties of individuals toward public enemies. *temporibus*: *circumstances*.

475. *Regulus*: the story is also given in III. 26, 99, 100. M. Atilius Regulus, consul for the second time, 256 B.C., was defeated by the Carthaginians under Xanthippus. For an account of the battle and the story of Regulus' mission to Rome, see Liddell, *Hist. Rome*, pp. 271 ff.

477. *captivos . . . non censuit*: for the meaning, cf. III. 27, 100: *reddi captivos negavit esse utile; illos enim adolescentes esse et bonos duces, se iam confectum senectute*. For the position of *non*, which, according to the English idiom, would precede *reddendos*, cf. III. 27, 101: *non censuerit captivos remittendos*. With Cicero's account, cf. Hor., *Carm.* III. 5, 13-56.

478. *retineretur*: the Imperfect of attempted action.

479. *fidem . . . fallere*: *to break a pledge*.

480. This entire section (§40) is not found in the best MSS., and has therefore been bracketed by most editors. Some, as SCHICHE, wholly reject it. The same events are given in III. 22, 86 and 32, 113, but with some differences in matters of detail and without the defects in style which mar this passage. See Critical Appendix.

484. *in aerariis*: the *aerarii* paid poll-tax only, and were excluded from the right of voting.

485. *iuris iurandi fraude*: *by evading his oath*. *culpam inven-*
erat: *culpam invenire* is equivalent to *culpa se obnoxium reddere*.

487. *quod . . . diceret*: for the verb of Saying in the Subjunctive with *quod*, see G. 541, n. 3; A. & G. 321, 2, n. 2; B. 286, 1, a; H. 588, II. 1; L. 1727. *nescio quid*: equivalent to *aliquid*.

489. *erat . . . erat*: chiasitic arrangement. *Semper autem . . . cogitandum*: *in fide* refers to an oath, or promise; *quid senseris*, what one has actually meant. For the meaning of the passage, cf. III. 29, 108: *Non enim falsum iurare periurare est, sed, quod ex animi tui sententia iuraris, sicut verbis concipitur more nostro, id non facere per iurium est*.

494. C. Fabricius: consul 282 and 278 B.C. See Note on *illa praeclara*, l. 463.

496. *cum scelere*: attributive to *interitum* and equivalent to *scelestum*; see Note on *cum elegantia et copia*, l. 291.

497. *adversus*: see Note on l. 397.

499. *quibus*: depending upon *uti*; for the order, see Madvig 476, d, where this example is cited.

500. *ut mercennariis*: cf. Seneca, *Ben.* III. 22: *servus, ut placet Chrysippo, perpetuus mercennarius est*. *operam exigendam*: *exigendam* is used as if dependent upon *dicunt* instead of *iubent*.

501. *iusta praebenda*: i.e. food, clothing, and shelter.

502. *vulpeculae*: note the force of the diminutive; it emphasizes the thought of slyness.

503. *homine alienissimum*: note the Ablative, *homine*, after *alienus* without *ab*.

504. *Totius . . . nulla capitalior*: of all kinds of injustice there is none more deserving of punishment. For "different kinds of" a quality, Cicero uses the Plural of an abstract substantive, or the singular modified by *totus* or *omnis*; cf. *multi . . . reditus*, l. 231, and *in omni iniustitia*, l. 309.

505. *tum cum maxime*: just then; the expression *nunc cum maxime* is used in a similar way.

CHAPTER XIV.

507. *Deinceps*: Cicero always uses *deinceps*, next in order, and not *deinde* in passing to a new division of his subject.—HEINE. *ut erat propositum*: in l. 243.

508. *de liberalitate*: *benignitas* below and the clause *beneficentia, quam eandem vel benignitatem vel liberalitatem appellari licet*, l. 243, indicate that *liberalitate* is to be taken here in the same sense as *beneficentia*, even though the preposition is repeated. On this repetition of the preposition, see G. 414; Madvig 470, 2. *quidem*: used with Concessive force.

509. cautiones: for the meaning, cf. *locus erat cautionis*, l. 529 ; for the Plural, see Note on *reditus*, l. 232.

510. Videndum est: in the sense of *cavendum est*. **ne . . . et . . . et**: this use of *et . . . et* instead of *aut . . . aut* after a negative is not common ; for other forms, cf. *ut . . . neque . . . nec*, l. 1171 ; and *ut neve . . . neve*, l. 1634.

511. videbitur: see Note on *confugient*, l. 419.

513. dignitate: *worthiness*. **id**: this refers to the preceding clause, *ut pro . . . tribuatur*.

518. in . . . iniustitia: see Note on *in vitio*, l. 276.

519. convertant: cf. the use of the English *convert* in legal phraseology, *to appropriate dishonestly or illegally*.

520. et quidem: for *et ei quidem* ; *ei* may have fallen out after *et*, as *et* and *ei* are often confused in MSS. — HOLDEN.

521. eripiunt: for the Indicative after *multi sunt*, see G. 631, 2, R. 1 ; A. & G. 320, a ; B. 283 ; H. 591, 1, N. 2 ; L. 1823 ; cf. *Or. I. 12, 52*: *permulta sunt quae ipsi magistri . . . nec tradunt nec tenent*. **quod . . . largiantur**: a clause of Design.

522. quacumque ratione: *in any way whatever* ; Cicero uses *quicumque* in the sense of *quilibet* principally with *ratione*, *modo*, *condicione*, but occasionally with other words ; cf. *Or. I. 12, 51*: *quacumque ex arte, quocumque de genere* ; *N. D. II. 66, 164*: *quacumque in ora ac parte*.

526. L. Sullae: L. Cornelius Sulla, consul 88, dictator 82–80 B.C. For his proscription of citizens and confiscation of their property, see Liddell, *Hist. Rome*, Ch. lxi. **C. Caesaris . . . translatio**: C. Julius Caesar, the dictator. *Sullae* and *Caesaris* are Subjective Genitives ; *pecuniarum*, Objective Genitive ; observe the asyndeton. With this passage, cf. II. 8, 27–29.

527. non . . . videri: cf. Sall., *Cat. 52, 11*: *Iam pridem equidem nos vera vocabula rerum amisimus: quia bona aliena largiri liberalitas . . . vocatur*.

528. quod non idem iustum: sc. *sit* ; for this ellipsis of the copula, see G. 209, N. 3 ; cf. *eosdem*, l. 736.

529. Alter locus . . . cautionis: *alter, the second*. For the force of *locus*, see Note on *ex quattuor . . . locis*, l. 211. **ne benignitas . . . facultates**: cf. l. 512.

531. res: sc. *familiaris* ; *their means, or circumstances*. **in proximos**: *to their nearest relatives*.

532. est: see Note on *erat*, l. 329.

533. relinqu: i.e. by way of inheritance. **Inest autem**: corresponding to *primum* above and used instead of *deinde*.

537. *quadam gloria*: *gloria* is here used in the sense of *passion for glory, ambition; quadam, a sort of*.

538. *a voluntate*: “aus dem Herzen.”—MÜLLER.

539. *vanitati*: *deception*; cf. l. 1740: *nec vero est quicquam turpius vanitate*.

540. *Tertium est propositum*: cf. l. 512: *tum . . . tribuatur*.

541. *dilectus . . . dignitatis*: *a choice according to merit*.

543. *communitas ac societas vitae*: for the use of *communitas*, see Note on l. 240; for the degrees of personal and political relationship, cf. Chs. XVI. and XVII.

544. *utilitates*: see Note on *reditus*, l. 232.

545. *si minus*: *si minus, if not*, is generally used instead of *si non*, if the predicate is to be supplied from the context; *sin minus, sin aliter* may be used in the same way. *causae*: equivalent to *causae bene faciendi, reasons for bestowing a favor*.

CHAPTER XV.

547. *perfectis . . . sapientibus*: the ideal man of the Stoics was perfectly wise and good.

548. *in quibus*: to be taken with *sunt*; see Note on *quibus*, l. 499.

549. *praeclare agitur*: for this use of *ago*, cf. *Fam.* iv. 14, 1: *agiturque praeclare, si nosmet ipsos regere possumus*; also *Am.* 3, 11: *cum illo vero quis neget actum esse praeclare?* *simulacra virtutis*: cf. *III.* 3, 13: *similitudines honesti*; also *Fin.* v. 15, 43: *parvi virtutum simulacris, quarum in se habent semina sine doctrina moventur*.

551. *significatio virtutis*: cf. *Am.* 14, 48: *si qua significatio virtutis eluceat*.

553. *virtutibus . . . lenioribus*: cf. *II.* 9, 32: *vehementer autem amor multitudinis commovetur ipsa fama et opinione liberalitatis, beneficentiae iustitiae, fidei omniumque earum virtutum, quae pertinent ad mansuetudinem morum ac facilitatem*.

555. *Nam fortis animus . . . est*: *nam* introduces the reason for not including *fortitudo* among the virtues enumerated in the preceding sentence; in this use it is elliptical; *ferventior, too impetuous*.

556. *illae virtutes*: Adversative asyndeton; referring to *his lenioribus*.

557. *attingere*: see Note on *attingit*, l. 213. *in moribus*: sc. *sunt* and translate *concern the character*, i.e., of those upon whom favors are bestowed.

558. *De benivolentia autem*: *so far as it pertains to well-wishing; de*

with the Ablative is sometimes used in this sense, independently of the rest of the sentence, and is about equivalent in meaning to *quod attinet ad*; cf. l. 935 : *De evertendis . . . urbibus*.

559. *primum* : may be either an adverb or a neuter adjective. *est in officio* : cf. *haec in moribus*, l. 557 ; and *officii est*, l. 584 ; see Note on l. 276.

562. *Sin . . . merita* : *sin*, but if ; cf. l. 544 : *officia ante conlata*.

563. *referenda . . . gratia* : *than the requiting of a favor* ; the regular construction would be *quam* with the Infinitive ; this use of the Ablative of the Gerundive after a comparative is very rare ; see G. 431, n. 2 ; Madvig 416, 2.

565. *Quodsi . . . Hesiodus* : for *quodsi reddenda sunt, ut iubet Hesiodus*.—MÜLLER. *utenda* : for the passive use of *utor*, see Note on *perfruendas voluptates*, l. 285.

566. *iubet . . . Hesiodus* : in Hesiod's poetical work, Ἔργα καὶ Ἡμέραι, 349 ; cf. *Brut.* 4, 15 : *quamquam illud Hesiodium laudatur a doctis, quod eadem mensura reddere iubet qua acceperis aut etiam cumulatior, si possis* ; for the omission of a pronoun with *reddere*, see Note on *agere*, l. 348. Hesiod, in point of antiquity, follows Homer and is commonly assigned to the eighth century B.C.

567. *an* : For this use of *an*, practically with the force of *nonne*, see G. 457 ; A. & G. 211, *b* ; B. 162, 4, *a* ; H. 380, 3 ; L. 1508.

568. *qui . . . acceperunt* : cf. *Sen.* 15, 51 : *Habent enim rationem cum terra, quae numquam recusat imperium nec umquam sine usura reddit, quod accepit*.

569. *non dubitamus* : *we do not hesitate to* ; the usual meaning of *dubito* when followed by the Infinitive.

572. *dandi beneficii* : Epexegetical Genitive ; *genus* is understood. *necne* : *or not* ; *annon* is regularly used in Direct Questions, but rarely in Indirect.

574. *id facere* : for this use of *facere* instead of *reddere*, see Note on *facere potuisse*, l. 44. *sine iniuria* : i.e. to those dependent upon him ; cf. *quod iniuriosi sunt in proximos*, l. 531.

575. *dilectus habendi* : i.e. in requiting favors ; for the use of *dilectus*, cf. *dilectus . . . dignitatis*, l. 541.

576. *maximo cuique* : sc. *beneficio*.

578. *Multi . . . multa* : pleonasm ; cf. *Multi . . . saepe*, l. 858.

579. *morbo in omnes* : *a chronic disposition* to give to *all* without exercising proper care and judgment. *repentino . . . impetu* : *a sudden impulse* to generosity toward individuals ; *impetu*, *an acute attack*, in opposition to *morbo*.

581. *atque* : *as*. *iudicio, considerate, constanterque* : with this

combination of Ablative and adverbs, cf. l. 711 : *magno animo et fortiter excellenterque*.

582. *delata*: equivalent to *collata*. *in collocando beneficio*: *collocare* means *to invest (capital)*; the bestowing of a favor is compared to the investing of money; cf. II. 20, 71 : *Quam ob rem melius apud bonos quam apud fortunatos beneficium collocari puto*.

584. *officii est*: cf. *in officio*, l. 559.

585. *quod contra fit*: *the opposite of which is done*; cf. *Sen.* 23, 84: *quod contra decuit ab illo meum (corpus cremari)*.

CHAPTER XVI.

588. *societas . . . coniunctioque*: cf. *communitas . . . vitae*, l. 543.

589. *ut quisque . . . conferetur*: *ut quisque* with the superlative and *ita* with the same form are equivalent to *quo . . . eo* with the comparative; see G. 642, R. 2.

590. *naturae principia . . . communitatis*: for the two Genitives, see Note on *Caesaris translatio*, l. 526; *naturae*, of nature, natural.

592. *enim*: *namely*; see Note on l. 185.

593. *Eius*: sc. *societatis*.

594. *ratio et oratio*: cf. l. 146 : *Eademque . . . orationis . . . societatem*; also *Leg.* I. 9, 27 : *orationis vim quae conciliatrix est humanae maxime societatis*. *communicando*: *by conversation*.

595. *disceptando*: *by discussion*.

596. *neque ulla re longius*: *by the possession of reason and speech we are most distinguished from the beasts*.

598. *equis . . . leonibus*: *asyndeton*.

599. *bonitatem*: see Note on *naturae bonitate*, l. 65.

600. *latissime . . . patens*: cf. *latissime patere*, l. 51.

601. *inter ipsos*: cf. *inter se*, l. 595.

603. *communitas*: *common use, common possession*.

604. *quae discripta . . . civili*: *those things which have been assigned to private ownership by the statutes and civil law*. Note the Adversative relation between *quae* and *cetera*.

606. *in . . . proverbio est*: cf. *Arist., Eth. Nic.* VIII. 9, 1 : καὶ ἡ παροιμία 'κοινὰ τὰ φιλῶν' ὁρθῶς.

609. *transferri*: *applied*.

610. *Homo qui*: it is not known to what poem of Ennius this fragment belongs. The measure is iambic trimeter; the final *o* of *Homo* is long.

611. *Quasi . . . facit*: the first foot, *quāsī lū-*, is an anapaest; *suo* is read as a monosyllable.

612. Nihilo minus ipsi : the first two feet are anapaests. **lucet** : sc. *lumen* as subject.

613. Una ex re : from one example.

614. ex quo : sc. *genere*.

615. illa communia : sc. *praecepta*.

618. his utendum est : *his* refers to *quae* above ; the verb is impersonal, the more common usage for *utor*, *fruo*r, etc., with *sum*.

619. semper . . . afferendum : cf. *communes* . . . *afferre*, l. 262.

621. vulgaris : general, i.e. applied to all.

622. referenda . . . Enni finem : must be kept within the limit fixed by *Ennius*.

623. ut facultas . . . liberales : cf. l. 529 : *ne benignitas . . . in proximos . . . ad alienos*.

CHAPTER XVII.

626. enim : see Note on l. 592.

627. gentis, nationis : these terms are here synonymous, and are contrasted with *civitatis*, a political organization. When a distinction is made, *gens* is a more general term than *natio* ; cf. Vell., II. 98, 1 : *eius gentis nationibus in arma accensis*. MEISSNER, *Lat. Syn.*, thus illustrates the difference in meaning : *Omnes gentis Germanorum nationes arma contra communem hostem ceperunt*.

628. interius . . . civitatis : *interius etiam*, a still closer bond of union ; the subject of *est* is *eiusdem esse civitatis* ; cf. III. 17, 69 : *Societas est . . . interior eorum, qui eiusdem gentis sint, propior eorum, qui eiusdem civitatis*.

630. consuetudines : companionships.

631. multisque . . . multis : cf. *Multi . . . multa*, l. 578 ; *multaque multorum*, l. 1202. **res . . . contractae** : business transactions ; cf. l. 55 : *si cum altero contrahas* ; l. 187 : *rerum contractarum fide* ; II. 11, 40 : *contrahendisque negotiis implicantur*.

633. propinquorum : kinsmen. **ab illa . . . concluditur** : i.e. from the union of mankind to the narrow limit of one family ; cf. *Am.* 5, 20 : *quod ex infinita societate generis humani, quam conciliavit ipsa natura, ita contracta res est et adducta in angustum, ut omnis caritas aut inter duos aut inter paucos iungeretur*.

636. in . . . coniugio est : see Note on *est in officio*, l. 559.

637. una domus : cf. *Fin.* v. 23, 65 : *quod a procreatoribus nati diliguntur et tota domus coniugio et stirpe coniungitur*.

638. id : referring to the preceding sentence. **principium urbis . . . rei publicae** : the patriarchal theory of the origin of civil government. " With the growth of Aryan institutions in Italy, as elsewhere, the

early form of social life, founded upon a patriarchal and religious basis, acquired more and more a civil and political character. The patriarchal family, the *gens*, the *curia*, the tribe, the city, the state, marked the successive steps in the enlargement and organization of society."—MOREY, *Roman Law*, p. 4.

639. fratrū : *brothers and sisters.*

640. consobrinorum sobrinorumque : *cousins and the children of cousins.* For the legal definition of *consobrini* and *sobrini*, see Just., *Inst.* III. Tit. VI. 4 and 6.

642. conubia : *conubium* was the legal term for marriage between Roman citizens ; the right, *ius conubii*, at first limited to patricians, was greatly enlarged with the gradual extension of the Roman franchise. **adfinitates :** *adfinitas* is used for relationship by marriage in distinction from blood-relationship.

643. propagatio et suboles : for the use of two terms to secure a well-rounded expression, see Note on *veri . . . investigatio*, l. 156.

646. monumenta : *memorials* of any kind, buildings, statues, records, and the like ; cf. *Brut.* 16, 62 : *ipsae enim familiae sua quasi ornamenta ac monumenta servabant et ad usum, si quis eiusdem generis occidisset, et ad memoriam laudum domesticarum et ad inlustrandam nobilitatem suam.*

647. eisdem uti sacris : for the private religious rites of *gentes* and families, see articles on *Sacra pro Familiis* ; *pro Gentibus*, SMITH'S Dict. Antiq. ; also Lex. s. v. *sacrum* A, b. **sepulcra . . . communia :** *family tombs.*

649. viri boni : see Note on l. 242.

650. illud enim : the force of *enim*, introducing the reason for the preceding statement, extends to the clause *ut unus . . . pluribus*, l. 659. With this passage, cf. *Am.* 5, 19. **etiam :** to be taken with *alio*. **in alio :** i.e. a stranger—one not included in *propinquorum*, above.

651. tamen : some editors bracket *tamen* ; MÜLLER translates it, *at all events*, and suggests that we should expect *cum . . . tum* instead of *quamquam . . . tamen* in the next sentence.

655. copulatiū : *more closely united* ; a participle used adjectively, for a verbal *in-bilis*.

656. bonorum : used substantively, *good men*.

658. ac : as. **Pythagoras vult . . . amicitia :** instead of *vult . . . amicitia*, Nonius, s. v. *ultimum*, cites *ultimum in amicitia putavit*, taking *ultimum* in the sense of *summum* ; *vult*, the reading of the manuscripts, is equivalent to *necessarium censet*. Pythagoras of Samos, who flourished about 540–510 B.C., settled in Crotona in southern Italy and founded the Italic school of philosophy, teaching the

doctrine of the immortality of the soul and the transmigration of souls.

659. *unus... pluribus*: cf. *Am.* 21, 81: *alterum anquirat, cuius animum ita cum suo misceat, ut efficiat paene unum ex duobus*, and 25, 92: *Nam cum amicitiae vis sit in eo ut unus quasi animus fiat ex pluribus*.

660. *ultra et citra*: *mutually*.

661. *quae... sunt*: referring to *beneficiis*. We might expect instead of *quae*, subject of *sunt*, *quibus* in the Ablative with *devinciuntur*.

662. *ea*: sc. *beneficia*. *devinciuntur*: the subject is the antecedent of *quos*. *Sed cum... lustraris*: *but when you shall have considered*.

664. *est gravior*: after *cum... lustraris*, we should expect this clause to depend on a verb of Saying.

666. *caritates*: *objects of affection*.

667. *una*: *alone*, in opposition to *omnes*. *complexa est*: i.e. *has included* and still *includes*; the Perfect here denotes the present result of a more remote action.

669. *omni scelere*: *every form of crime*.

670. *et sunt*: referring to Antony and his party. *et fuerunt*: the Gracchi, Catiline, Clodius, and Caesar.

671. *contentio... et comparatio*: cf. l. 1765.

674. *quae spectat in nos*: i.e. *for support*.

676. *bene convenientes*: equivalent to *concordes*.

678. *vita... communis*: *communis* modifies both *vita* and *victus*.

680. *obiurgationes*: HOLDEN compares *Am.* 24, 88 and 89; and Proverbs, xxvii. 6: "Faithful are the wounds of a friend; but the kisses of an enemy are deceitful."

681. *vigent maxime*: *are most effective, have their true place*.

CHAPTER XVIII.

684. *quid cuique*: sc. *tribui*.

685. *vel*: *even*.

686. *Ita*: i.e. if we follow out the injunction in the preceding sentence, *videndum erit quid*, etc. MÜLLER renders *ita*, *under the circumstances*. *necessitudinum*: *the relationships* classified in the

preceding chapter. *temporum*: *circumstances*. The meaning of the passage is made clear by the illustration, *ut vicinum... defenderis*.

687. *ut*: see Note on l. 226.

688. *adiuveris... defenderis*: for the mood and tense, see Note on *deviceris*, l. 418. *percipiendis*: *gathering*.

691. *in omni officio*: see Note on l. 309. *et consuetudo... capi-enda*: these words are thought by many to have found their way into the text from a marginal note, intended to indicate the substance of the sentence, *Sed ut nec*, below. The expression *consuetudo capienda* is unusual, but HOLDEN accepts ERNESTI's vindication of it (*Clavis Ciceroniana*, s. v.).

692. *ratiocinatores*: the Stoics thought the correct balancing of duties between individuals of the utmost importance.

693. *deducendo*: *by subtracting*.

694. *reliqui summa*: *reliqui* is appropriate with *deducendo*: *summa* with *addendo*, but *reliqui summa* together involve zeugma.

698. *traduntur illa quidem*: *quidem* is Concessive; for the use of *illa* with *quidem*, see G. 307, 4, R. 4; A. & G. 102, f, and 151, e; B. 347; H. 507, 5; L. 2361; cf. l. 770: *illas quidem*; l. 1107: *illud quidem*; l. 1191: *illo quidem*.

699. *facimus*: for *tradimus*; see Note on *facere potuisse*, l. 44.

700. *ab iis rebus*: to be taken with *ducatur*. *quae sunt in iure... humanae*: the interpretations in the LEMAIRE edition seem to me the best, *ex quibus ius humanae societatis existit*, or *ab iis rebus quae pertinent ad ius s. h.*; many editors, following HEUSINGER, interpret, *quae iusta sunt in s. h.*

702. *aptum*: *depends*; this use of *aptum* with *ex* and the Ablative like *pendere ex aliqua re* is peculiar to Cicero.

703. *cum... genera quattuor*: cf. l. 184: *Sed omne... aliqua*.

704. *manaret*: for the tense, see Note on *esset*, l. 292.

706. *humanasque res*: see Note on *humanarumque rerum*, l. 166. *in probris... est*: a forcible way to insult a man is to impeach his courage, as in the following verses.

708. *Vos enim... viri*: the author is unknown. The metre is trochaic septenarius; the final syllable of *enim* and the first of *illa* are short. *illa virgo viri*: sc. *animum gerit*.

710. *Salmacida... sanguine*: according to Festus this line comes from Ennius. The measure is iambic trimeter with trisyllabic feet in the first three places. *Salmacida* is a Vocative from the patronymic *Salmacides*, son of *Salmacis*, and is here used in the sense of coward. *Salmacis* is the name of a fountain in Caria, whose waters were said to make those who drank therefrom weak and effeminate; also personified as the nymph of this fountain; cf. Ovid, *Metam.* iv. 285, ff. *spolia* is in the Imperative. See Critical Appendix.

711. *in laudibus*: contrasted with *in probris* above. *animo... excellenter*: cf. l. 581: *iudicio... constanter*.

712. nescio quo modo : *in some way or other, somehow ; cf. l. 1699 : fit . . . nescio quo modo ut.*

713. Hinc rhetorum campus : the rhetoricians make use of the brilliant examples of *fortitudo* in teaching their pupils declamation. **Marathone . . . Thermopylis :** the Greeks gained signal victories over the Persians at Marathon, 490 B.C. ; at Salamis, 480 B.C. ; and at Plataea, 479 B.C. At Thermopylae, 480 B.C., Leonidas, with 300 Spartans and a few thousand allies, made his heroic stand against the huge army of Xerxes. Miltiades, the Athenian, commanded at Marathon ; Themistocles, the Athenian, at Salamis ; and Pausanias, the Spartan, at Plataea.

714. Leuctris : the Thebans under Epaminondas defeated the Lacedaemonians at Leuctra, 371 B.C.

715. Cocles : Horatius Cocles defended the Sublician bridge against the Etruscans in the war following the expulsion of the Tarquins. **Decii :** P. Decius Mus sacrificed his life in battle in the Latin war, 340 B.C. His son, of the same name, won like renown in the battle of Sentinum, in the third Samnite war, 295 B.C. **Cn. et P. Scipiones :** the uncle and father of the elder Africanus were killed in Spain in the second Punic war, 212 B.C. **M. Marcellus :** M. Claudius Marcellus, five times consul, gained the *spolia opima*, 222 B.C., by killing the Insubrian chief, Viridomarus. In the second Punic war he captured Syracuse, 212 B.C. But in 208 B.C. he was surprised by the enemy near Venusia and killed.

718. studium : sc. *Romanorum*. **quod :** *in that ; quod* is often used to introduce explanatory clauses after demonstratives expressed, or implied (as here).

719. fere : *usually.*

CHAPTER XIX.

720. animi elatio : cf. l. 705 : *animo . . . elatoque.*

722. suis : *his own ;* as if the subject were personal and not *animi elatio*.—MÜLLER. **in vitio est :** equivalent to *vitiosa est ;* see Note on l. 276.

723. inmanitatis : *fierceness.*

724. probe : *correctly.* **definitur . . . fortitudo :** cf. *Tusc.* IV. 24, 53 : *fortitudo est scientia rerum perferendarum vel adfectio animi in patiando ac perferendo summae legi parens sine timore.*

725. cum . . . esse dicunt : may be rendered *as, or entirely omitted* in translating.

727. gloriam . . . laudem : contrasted as mere *reputation* and *real merit, genuine distinction.*

729. *illud Platonis*: the first part is from the *Menexenus*, 246, *e*; the second part, *verum etiam*, etc., from the *Laches*, 197, *b*.

731. *calliditas*: *cunning*.

735. *habeat*: the Imperative Subjunctive.

736. *eosdem*: *at the same time*; cf. l. 528: *quod non idem iustum. simplices*: i.e. free from deception of every kind.

737. *quae . . . laude iustitiae*: the qualities enumerated form the very basis of justice.

738. *illud*: *the following*. *odiosum*: *annoying*. For a similar sentiment, cf. l. 306; l. 859.

740. *apud Platonem est*: in the *Laches*, 182, *e*.

741. *omnem morem*: *the whole national spirit*.

743. *excellet*: Present Indicative, second conjugation form. See Critical Appendix. *ita . . . solus esse*: Caesar and Pompey are referred to; cf. Lucan, *Phars.* i. 125:

Nec quemquam iam ferre potest Caesarve priorem
Pompeiusve parem.

747. *disceptatione . . . patiantur*: referring to popular assemblies, courts, and the senate; for *disceptatione*, see Note on l. 403.

748. *existuntque*: for *que*, *but*, see Note on *ortusque*, l. 257.

749. *largitores et factiosi*: *bribers and demagogues*; in the predicate.

751. *Sed quo . . . praeclarius*: referring to *Difficile autem . . . aequitatem*, above.

752. *tempus*: cf. l. 340: *cuiusque temporis*. *quod . . . debeat*: a Characteristic clause.

754. *magnitudo*: subject of *iudicat* and *mauult*.

755. *quod . . . sequitur*: *which nature seeks after most*.

756. *principemque se . . . mauult*: cf. *vult princeps*, l. 744; also *esse se vellet*, l. 1308.

757. *quam videri*: cf. Aeschylus, *Sept. contra Theb.* 592: *ὃ γὰρ δοκεῖν ἀριστος ἀλλ' εἶναι θέλει*. *errore*: *caprice*.

759. *ut*: *in proportion as*.

760. *locus lubricus*: *slippery ground*, i.e. a difficult theme to handle.

761. *qui . . . desideret*: see Note on *quod . . . debeat*, l. 752, above; cf. *Arch.* ii. 28: *Nullam enim virtus aliam mercedem laborum periculorumque desiderat, praeter hanc laudis et gloriae*.

CHAPTER XX.

764. *rerum externarum*: see Note on *humanarumque rerum*, l. 166.

765. *ponitur*: *rests upon*; *positum est* is very often used instead of *ponitur*; cf. l. 93.

766. *decorum*: becoming, outwardly; for the relation of *decorum* to *honestum*, cf. l. 1081.

767. *optare...expetere*: *expetere*, to strive for, is stronger than *optare* and implies an attempt to realize one's wish. *nullique neque...nec*: see Note on *Nulla*, l. 53.

768. *perturbationi animi*: cf. *Tusc.* iv. 6, 11: *est igitur Zenonis haec definitio, ut perturbatio sit...aversa a recta ratione, contra naturam animi commotio.* *succumbere*: sc. *oportere*. *Altera est res*: see Note on *Alterum est vitium*, l. 221.

769. *ut...geras*: a Consecutive clause is sometimes used instead of an Infinitive to give the contents of a preceding substantive (*Altera res*). *cum...sis affectus*: dependent upon *geras*.

770. *illas quidem*: see Note on *traduntur illa quidem*, l. 698.

772. *Harum...duarum*: referring to *una...Altera*, ll. 764-768.

773. *addo etiam utilitatem*: equivalent logically to *praeterea etiam utilitas*.

774. *in posteriore*: i.e. in glorious deeds.

775. *in priore*: sc. *in rerum externarum despicentia*, l. 764; this is the source of true courage and real greatness of soul.

776. *Id autem ipsum*: this refers to *illud quod...facit*.

777. *duobus*: for *duabus rebus*.

778. *omni...perturbatione*: cf. l. 797; also *Fin.* III. 10, 35; *Tusc.* III. 11, 24.

780. *ducere...contemnere*: subjects of *ducendum est*. *ratione*: principle.

782. *multa et varia*: in many different forms.

783. *versantur*: occur. *a statu naturae*: the figure is borrowed from the *palaestra*, as in *de gradu*, l. 923; the natural state is free from passions and overmastering desires, which are diseases of the soul. The Stoic doctrine inculcates a calm, orderly life, in harmony with nature.

787. *a labore...a voluptate*: *labor* and *voluptas* are personified.

788. *vitanda*: *videnda* has good MS. authority and is the reading of many editors.

793. *ut supra dixi*: in ll. 754-760. *libertatem*: independence.

795. *ac potius*: but rather; *ac* has an Adversative force; *que* is often so used; see Note on *ortusque*, l. 257.

798. *voluptate nimia*: excessive joy. See Critical Appendix. This passage gives the Stoic classification of the passions: *cupiditas*, *metus*, *aegritudo*, *voluptas*; the last, *iracundia*, is considered a subdivision under *libido*, or *cupiditas*.

799. *securitas*: freedom from care.

802. *otium*: not a life of idleness, but one devoted to private pursuits instead of public affairs.

803. *in his*: an abbreviated construction, in which two sentences are reduced to one, for *in his...fuerunt qui nec...ferre possent. nobilissimi philosophi*: Pythagoras, Democritus, and Anaxagoras (*Or.* III. 15, 56). *longeque principes*: Plato, Aristotle, Zeno.

804. *homines...graves*: Cicero's friend Atticus, and also M. Piso (*Brut.* 67, 236).

805. *non nulli*: i.e. *philosophi* and *homines severi*.

806. *re sua familiari*: their estates; cf. *delectarentur re sua familiari*, l. 1070; and also *Sen.* xv.

807. *quod regibus*: cf. Sall., *Jug.* 31, 26: *impune quaelibet facere id est regem esse*.

808. *libertate uterentur*: supply *ut* from the preceding clauses. *cuius proprium...ut velis*: cf. *Parad.* v. 1, 34; *Quid est enim libertas? Potestas vivendi, ut velis*.

CHAPTER XXI.

810. *hoc*: namely, *sic vivere ut velis*, l. 808, above.

811. *otiosis*: cf. l. 802: *ad otiumque perfugerint. alteri... alteri*: the one class...the other, preserving the meaning of *alter*, one of two.

812. *si opes...habeant*: cf. *ut opes...consequantur*, l. 749.

813. *et suo et parvo*: we should expect *et suo et eo parvo*; see Note on *idque*, l. 2. *omnino*: certainly; Concessive in force.

817. *eorum*: sc. *vita*; contrasted with *vita otiosorum*.

818. *Quapropter*: cf. *Quare* above; *quapropter* refers to several reasons, *quare* to one. *forsitan concedendum sit*: *concedendum* is used in the sense of *ignoscendum*; the mood is the Potential Subjunctive with *forsitan*, perhaps; that which is to be excused is expressed in *rem publicam non capessentibus*, for not taking part in political affairs.

819. *excellenti ingenio*: Ablative of Quality.

821. *aliqua*: see Note on l. 274; cf. Cicero's own reason, III. 1, 1: *nam et a re publica forensibusque negotiis armis impiis vique prohibiti otium persequimur*.

825. *laudi*: like *vitio*, Dative For Which with *dandum*.

826. *vitio dandum*: their refusal to take part in public affairs deserves blame. *in eo, quod...contemnant*: in this, that they (as they say) care little for fame.

827. *difficile factu*: *factu* is pleonastic, and may be omitted in translating.

828. *tum*: for this use of *tum*, see Note on *tum agitatio*, l. 232.

829. *offensionum et repulsarum*: *failures and defeats*; the fate of unsuccessful candidates for public office. *quasi quandam*: used to soften the strong terms, *ignominiam*, *disgrace*, and *infamiam*, *dishonor*.

830. *in rebus contrariis*: *in opposite circumstances*, explained by the groups, *voluptatem* and *dolore*, *gloriam* and *infamia*.

833. *atque ea . . . constanter*: sc. *fariant*; *ea* refers to the clauses *voluptatem . . . infamia*.

834. *a natura adiumenta*: the natural qualifications, physical, mental, and social.

835. *adipiscendi magistratus*: *offices ought to be sought*.

837. *Capessentibus*: used substantively; see G. 437, N. 1.

838. *haud scio an*: Cicero uses this expression in a positive sense, *I am inclined to think*; it may be taken as about equivalent to *fortasse*. *magnificentia*: equivalent to *magnitudo animi*.

841. *nec . . . et*: for this combination, see G. 480, N. 3, b.

842. *faciliora*: sc. *eo*, to correspond with *quo*.

843. *quo minus multa*: equivalent to *quo pauciora*.

845. *tam graviter*: sc. *quam rem publicam capessentes*; cf. Hor., *Carm.* II. 10, 10: *celsae graviore casu decidunt turres*.

847. *studia efficiendi*: *efficiendi* is used absolutely, as in *efficiendi facultas*.

848. *gerentibus*: see Note on *Capessentibus*, l. 837. *quietis*: cf. *otiosis*, l. 811.

851. *illa res*: more emphatic than *illud*. *ut habeat*: dependent upon *caveat*, *let him take care to have*; cf. l. 1636: *careamus ut ea . . . moderata sint*. Some editors take *ut* in the sense of *quomodo*, or *quatenus*, and make *habeat* depend upon *consideret*.

854. *prius quam adgrediare*: for the mood, see G. 577, 1, where this passage is cited; A. & G. 327, b (this passage cited); B. 292, 1, a, R.; H. 605, 1; L. 1912.

CHAPTER XXII.

858. *Multi . . . saepe*: see Note on l. 578.

860. *apti et cupidi*: the expression *in magnis animis ingeniisque* is equivalent to *in hominibus magni animi ingeniique*; because of the implied *hominibus*, *apti* and *cupidi* are used.

863. Themistocles: Themistocles laid the foundation of the naval power of Athens.

866. primum constituit Areopagitas: Solon did not found the Areopagus, but enlarged its powers. According to tradition it dated from the earliest years of Athens. Solon gave it the supervision of public administration, religion, laws, and morals.

867. hoc quam illud: *the latter...the former.*

869. hoc consilio: *sc. Areopagitarum.*

870. dixerit: see Note on *adiuveris*, l. 688, also Madvig 350, *b*, where this passage is cited.

871. at ille: *sc. Areopagus dixerit*; SABBADINI would supply *Solon dixerit*.

872. senatus eius: the Areopagus. According to Plutarch, *Them.* 10, the Areopagus gave money to pay the men who fought in the naval battle at Salamis.

874. Pausania: see Note on *Plataeis*, l. 714. **Lysandro:** Lysander, the Lacedaemonian commander, who took Athens in the Peloponnesian war, 404 B.C.

875. partum: see Critical Appendix.

876. Lycurgi: the Spartan lawgiver, who flourished not later than 825 B.C.

877. conferendi sunt: Pausanias and Lysander are compared with the laws of Lycurgus; for this usage, see Note on *a Peripateticis*, l. 17.

879. pueris nobis: Ablative Absolute; note the change in number from *mihi*.

M. Scaurus: M. Aemilius Scaurus, consul 115 B.C., censor, 109, *princeps senatus*, was highly praised by Cicero, Horace, and Juvenal, but accused by Sallust of taking a bribe from Jugurtha. **C. Mario:** C. Marius (B.C. 157-86), seven times consul, conquered Jugurtha, and annihilated the Teutons and Cimbri.

880. Q. Catulus: Q. Lutatius Catulus, consul 78 B.C., was a friend of Cicero and an opponent of the triumvirs. **Cn. Pompeio:** Cn. Pompeius Magnus completed the war against Sertorius in Spain, cleared the sea of pirates, and was also successful in the third Mithridatic war, but was defeated by Caesar at Pharsalus, 48 B.C. **cedere:** *inferior to.*

881. parvi...domi: MÜLLER and HEINE think this may be a quotation from a poet, to be read as a trochaic septenarius:

Párvī enim forís sunt arma nísī si est consiliúm domi.

882. Africanus: Scipio Africanus Minor, who conquered the Carthaginians in the third Punic war, 146 B.C., and destroyed Numantia in Spain, 133 B.C.

883. in excindenda Numantia: the Ablative with *in* denotes the circumstances under which he aided the state, *in the matter of destroying Numantia*.

884. P. Nasica privatus: P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica, consul 138 B.C.; cf. l. 1271, below; *privatus* is contrasted with *imperator* above, as Nasica held only the office of *pontifex maximus* at this time, 133 B.C.

Ti. Gracchum: Ti. Sempronius Gracchus, tribune of the plebs, 134 B.C., and advocate of the agrarian laws, was killed by the senators, under the leadership of Scipio Nasica, when he was seeking a re-election to the office of tribune, 133 B.C.

885. quamquam: see Note on l. 342. haec...res: *this act*, the killing of Tiberius Gracchus. ex...ratione: *comes under the head of civil affairs*; for this form of expression, cf. *ex media laude*, l. 737.

886. vi manumque: hendiadys, *violent hands*.

887. id ipsum: this refers to *vi...confecta est*.

888. consilio urbano: it was the work of senators as a partisan measure, and not of soldiers.

890. Cedant...laudi: from the third book of Cicero's poem on his consulship. togae: the dress of civil life, the badge of citizenship. laurea: *the laurel wreath*, given to the military hero. laudi: the *praise* bestowed upon Cicero by the senate for his success in putting down the conspiracy of Catiline. This verse was severely criticised for its conceit by Seneca, *Brev. Vit.* 5, 5; by Quintilian, *Inst. Or.* xi. 1, 24; cf. also Iuv., x. 122 ff.

891. nobis: cf. *Mihi...nobis*, l. 878.

892. periculum...gravius: the reference is to the conspiracy of Catiline.

893. maius otium: *greater peace*.

895. ipsa: *themselves*, as if of their own accord. ceciderunt: for this verb with *delapsa*, cf. *Cat.* i. 6, 16; *sica...excidit casu aliquo et elapsa est*.

899. Mihi...hoc tribuit: *paid me this tribute*.

901. triumphum tertium: Pompey's third triumph was celebrated, 61 B.C., over the Pirates, and Mithridates and Tigranes. His previous triumphs were in 80 B.C., over the Numidians, and 71 B.C., over Sertorius. nisi meo...habiturus: cf. *Phil.* ii. 5, 12; *Maxime vero consulatum meum Cn. Pompeius probavit; qui, ut me primum decedens ex Syria vidit, complexus et gratulans, meo beneficio patriam se visurum esse dixit*.

903. domesticae: *in civil affairs*: contrasted with *militaribus*. fortitudines: see Note on *reditus*, l. 232.

CHAPTER XXIII.

906. *Omnino*: Concessive, as in l. 813.

908. *ita efficiendum est*: brought into such a state.

911. *in animi cura*: *animi* is a Subjective Genitive.

912. *in quo*: and in this respect.

913. *togati*: cf. l. 890: *Cedant arma togae*.

916. *M. Catonis*: sc. *consilio*. *M. Porcius Cato* (B.C. 234–149) was consul 195 and censor 184 B.C. In the latter office he gained his greatest fame. For a long time he was alarmed at the increasing strength of Carthage and urged the senate to destroy the city. *etiam mortui . . . auctoritas*: the third Punic war, 149–146 B.C., resulted in the destruction of Carthage, but not until three years after the death of Cato.

918. *decernendi . . . decertandi*: an example of paronomasia; *decernendi ratio*, skill in deciding, as opposed to *decertandi fortitudo*, courage in fighting, refers to the peaceable-settlement of international difficulties.

919. *id . . . faciamus*: for *decernamus*; see Note on *facere potuisse*, l. 44. *bellandi . . . fuga*: to avoid fighting; for a similar usage, cf. *periculi fuga*, l. 943.

921. *quaesita*: note its agreement with *pax* instead of *nihil*.

922. *perturbari*: the subject is *hominem* implied in *fortis animi*; cf. *apti et cupidi*, l. 860.

923. *tumultuantem*: confused. *de gradu deici*: to be thrown from one's position; figuratively, to lose one's head; the expression comes from gladiatorial contests; cf. *a statu naturae*, l. 783.

924. *praesenti animo*: presence of mind.

925. *animi*: courage. *illud*: the following. *ingenii*: in-born ability, understanding.

927. *in utramque partem*: i.e. for good or evil.

928. *nec committere ut*: and not to act in such a way that.

929. *Non putaram*: cf. Val. Max., vii. 2, 2; *Scipio Africanus turpe esse aiebat in re militari dicere "non putaram."*

931. *autem*: on the other hand; strongly Adversative. Cicero is criticising the popular notion of *fortitudo*.

932. *beluarum simile*: for this form of comparison, see Note on *conferendi sunt*, l. 877.

933. *tempus necessitasque*: an example of hendiadys.

CHAPTER XXIV.

935. *De evertendis*: for the use of *de*, see Note on l. 558.

936. *ne quid temere*: sc. *fiat*.

937. *rebus agitatis*: equivalent to *rebus turbatis et iactatis*.
punire fontes: i.e. to punish the leaders of sedition,—as Cicero had done in suppressing the Catilinarian conspiracy.

939. *supra dixi*: cf. l. 856.

941. *calida*: rash.

943. *omnino*: Concessive in force, *it is true*. *periculi fuga*: see Note on *bellandi...fuga*, l. 919. *committendum est*: cf. *nec committere ut*, l. 928.

944. *fugiendum illud*: the following must be avoided, namely, *ne offeramus*, etc.

945. *quo*: referring to the clause preceding.

947. *leniter*: with light treatment.

949. *in tranquillo*: sc. *maris*.

950. *subvenire*: to struggle against.

951. *quavis ratione*: in every way possible. *plus*: to be taken with *boni*.

952. *re explicata*: the successful settlement of the affair. *addubitata*: sc. *re*; while the matter is in doubt. It seems most natural to refer this to the contest preceding the settlement (*re explicata*); i.e. more good comes from final success than harm from the struggle necessary to win success.

953. *rerum actiones*: the performance of public duties.

954. *de vita...in discrimen vocantur*: i.e. run the risk of losing.

956. *quam ad communia*: than to expose the state to danger.

957. *de*: for.

960. *profundere...parati*: for the Infinitive with *paratus*, see G. 421, 1, c; A. & G. 273, b; B. 328, 1; H. 608, 4; L. 2170. *iidem*: see Note on *eosdem*, l. 736.

961. *iacturam...facere*: to sacrifice even in the slightest degree.

962. *ut*: as for example. *Callicratidas*: cf. l. 1265. *Callicratidas* succeeded Lysander in command of the Spartan fleet, 406 B.C., and was defeated and slain in the same year in battle with the Athenian fleet near the Arginusae Islands, off the coast of Asia Minor, now the *Agænos*.

963. *fuisse*: we should expect *esset*, but *fuisset* is made coördinate in time with *fuisse*, and is practically equivalent to an appositional expression, *as commander*. *Peloponnesiaco bello*: the Pelopon-

nesian war, B.C. 431-404, was a struggle for supremacy between Athens and Sparta, and resulted in the capture of Athens and the triumph of the Spartans.

964. *vertit*: *overturned*.

967. *ille respondit . . . non posse*: the answer as given in Xenophon differs somewhat from this; cf. *Hell.* I. 6, 32.

970. *illa pestifera*: cf. *illud*, I. 925. **Cleombrotus**: king of Sparta, defeated and slain in the battle of Leuctra. Cleombrotus risked battle to avert the suspicion of secretly favoring the Thebans. See Note on *Leuctris*, I. 714.

971. **Epaminonda**: the public life of Epaminondas covered the period from B.C. 379 to 362. During this time he made Thebes the leading power in Greece.

972. **Q. Maximus**: Q. Fabius Maximus Verrucosus, consul five times, was made dictator after the defeat of the Romans at Lake Trasumennus, 217 B.C. Fabius received the surname *Cunctator* from his policy of avoiding a pitched battle and tiring out Hannibal by dilatory tactics.

973. **Ennius**: see Note on I. 297. The quotation is from the eighth book of the *Annales*; it appears also in *Sen.* 4, 10.

974. *rem*: sc. *publicam*.

975. **Noenum**: this is usually explained as equal to *ne-oinom*, and *non* as coming from *noen (um)*, but this is not altogether satisfactory. It is difficult to account for *ō* instead of the usual *ū* from *oe*. See Lindsay, *Lat. Lang.*, p. 615. **rumores**: the unfriendly criticism of the people who didn't appreciate the Fabian policy. **ponebāt**: note the quantity of *ā*; final *-at*, *-et*, and *-it* were originally long.

977. **rebus urbanis**: *civil affairs*.

979. **audeant**: see Critical Appendix.

CHAPTER XXV.

981. **unum . . . alterum**: the references are to Plato's *Republic*, I. p. 342, *e*, and IV. p. 420, *b*.

985. **tutela**: *guardianship*, i.e. the legal protection of minors and incompetent persons.

986. **ad**: *for*; see Note on *ad . . . utilitatem*, I. 5.

987. **qui . . . neglegunt**: cf. II. 21, 72: *Danda opera est omnino, si possit utrisque, nec minus, ut etiam singulis consulatur, sed ita, ut ea res aut prosit aut certe ne obsit rei publicae.*

989. **seditionem**: *dissension*.

990. **populares**: equivalent to *plebis studiosi*.

991. optimi cuiusque: the aristocracy, *optimates*; cf. *et optimi cuiusque et reliquorum*, l. 1146.

992. discordiae: sc. *ortae*.

993. seditiones: the dissensions in Rome caused by Ti. Gracchus (see Note on l. 884) and C. Gracchus, B.C. 133–121. **bella civilia:** the wars between Marius and Sulla, B.C. 88–86; and between Caesar and the Pompeian party, B.C. 49–46.

996. totamque: for the force of *que*, see Note on *ortusque*, l. 257. **eam:** referring to *rei publicae*, above.

998. omninoque: see Note on *totamque* above.

999. ea: i.e. *iustitiam honestatemque*; in referring to substantives denoting inanimate objects neuter pronouns are often used, regardless of the gender of the substantives.

1000. quamvis graviter: equivalent in force to *vel gravissime*. **offendat:** *suffer damage*; cf. *offensionum*, l. 829.

1001. ambitio honorumque contentio: *canvassing for votes and striving for office*.

1002. apud . . . Platonem: cf. *Rep.* vi. p. 488, b, and p. 489, c.

1004. contenderent: Imperfect tense, as if *apud . . . est* were equivalent to *dixit* or *dictum est*. **uter:** *which of two* opposing candidates.

1005. ut si: ac si is more often used after *similiter*.

1006. eorum: instead of the Reflexive pronoun, which lacks the Plural form for the Partitive Genitive. **Idemque praecipit:** no passage has been found in Plato exactly corresponding to this. Somewhat similar thoughts are expressed in *Rep.* viii. p. 567, c, and *Legg.* ix. p. 856, b.

1008. contra: sc. *rem publicam*.

1010. P. Africanum: see Note on *Africanus*, l. 882. **Q. Metellum:** Q. Caccilius Metellus Macedonicus, consul 143 B.C.; cf. *Am.* 21, 77: *propter dissensionem autem, quae erat in re publica alienatus est (Scipio) a collega nostro Metello*. **sine acerbitate:** see Note on *cum elegantia*, l. 291.

1012. inimicis: *political foes*.

1013. putabunt: see Note on *confugient*, l. 419.

1016. in iuris aequabilitate: *in the enjoyment of equal rights*; an essential condition for a free people (*In liberis . . . populis*).

1017. altitudo animi: *depth of soul*, i.e. serenity, calmness; cf. *Att.* iv. 6, 3, and v. 10, 3, where Cicero calls this quality *βαθύτης*. Some editors take *altitudo animi* in the sense of “loftiness of soul,” but *quae dicitur* would seem to point to an unusual meaning.

1018. accedentibus . . . rogantibus: cf. *capessentibus*, l. 837.

1020. *ita...ut*: on condition that; the sentence restricts the foregoing; cf. *ita...si*, l. 330.

1023. *castigatio*: reproof. *contumelia*: insult; cf. *severitas... contumelia repellatur*, l. 1585.

1024. *punitur*: the deponent is used occasionally in Cicero and late writers instead of the active form.

1027. *appellentur*: spoken to, called to account.

1028. *ad poenam*: i.e. to inflict punishment.

1029. *mediocritatem*: cf. Hor., *Carm.* II. 10, 5: *auream mediocritatem*.

1030. *modo ne laudent*: on *modo ne*, see G. 573, N. 2; for the tense of *laudent*, see Note on *contenderent*, l. 1004; for the allusion to the Peripatetics, cf. *Tusc.* IV. 19, 43: *Peripatetici perturbationes istas...non modo naturalis esse dicunt, sed etiam utiliter a natura datas*.

1032. *Illa*: sc. *iracundia*. *vero*: in truth, assuredly.

1033. *legum similes*: with this passage, many editors compare Aristot., *Pol.* III. 16.

CHAPTER XXVI.

1035. *ad*: according to.

1036. *superbiam...fastidium*: see Critical Appendix.

1038. *levitatis*: lightness of mind.

1039. *in omni vita*: in every circumstance, or condition of life; for a similar use of *omni*, see l. 309. *idem...vultus*: the same mien.

1040. *eademque frons*: the same expression of countenance. *de Socrate*: cf. *Tusc.* III. 15, 31: *hic est ille vultus semper idem, quem dicitur Xanthippe praedicare solita in viro suo fuisse Socrate, eodem vultu semper se vidisse exeuntem illum domo, et revertentem. Nec vero ea frons erat, quae M. Crassi illius veteris, quem semel ait in omni vita risisse Lucilius; sed tranquilla et serena*. Socrates (B.C. 469–399) introduced a new era in Greek philosophy. For an account of his life, see *Class. Dict.* *C. Laelio*: Gaius Laelius, surnamed *Sapiens*, was the friend and companion of the younger Africanus, as his father had been of the elder. Laelius was consul in 140 B.C., and was eminent as general, statesman, and patron of literature. He is one of the interlocutors in the *de Senectute*, and the principal speaker in the *de Amicitia*. Cf. l. 1246: *in C. Laelio multa hilaritas in...familiari Scipione...vita tristior*. In *Am.* 2, 7 Cicero compares Laelius and Socrates.

1041. *Philippum*: Philip, king of Macedon and father of Alexander the Great, reigned from 359 to 336 B.C.

1043. video: see Note on *video*, l. 32. **alter... magnus alter... turpissimus:** on Alexander's character, cf. Just., IX. 8: *huic (Philippto) Alexander filius successit et virtute et vitiis patre maior... Iram pater dissimulare, plerumque etiam vincere; hic ubi exarsisset, nec dilatio ultionis nec modus erat... Amari pater malle, hic metui.*

1046. summissus: more calmly, modestly. **Africanum:** the younger Scipio. Cf. Vell., I. 13: *Scipio tam elegans liberalium studiorum, omnisque doctrinae et auctor et admirator fuit, ut Polybium Panaetiumque, praecellentes ingenio viros, domi militiaeque secum habuerit.* **auditoem:** cf. *audientem*, l. 1.

1048. contentiones proeliorum: spirited equestrian battles.

1049. soleant: the Subjunctive is used because these are not the words of Cicero, but of Africanus, as reported by Panaetius; the present shows that the statement is a general truth.

1050. possint... perspicerent: note the change in tense, following the historical present *ait*, and see Note on *contenderent*, l. 1004.

1052. gyrum: the *ring* or *course* where horses are trained; it is used figuratively here and may be translated *training-school*.

1055. Atque... amicorum: i.e. the greater the prosperity, the greater the need of friendly advice.

1059. adulari: some editors, HEUSINGER and HEINE especially, take *adulari* as a deponent and supply a subject from *assentatoribus*; many others, and apparently with better reason, regard it as a passive. **in quo:** see Note on l. 912.

1062. opinionibus: conceit. **versantur:** involved in. The arrangement of the clauses, *cum homines... erroribus*, seems illogical and is criticised by most editors. HEINE suggests, as the proper order of expression, *cum homines inflati opinionibus in maximis versantur erroribus; unde fit, ut turpiter irrideantur.*

1063. Illud autem: with the sentiment of the following, cf. the teaching of Ch. XXI. in reference to statesmen and men of leisure.

1067. in vita otiosa: see Note on *otium*, l. 802. **qui aut:** *aut* in this instance corresponds to *aut* before *interiecti*; *aut* following *investigarent* connects it with *conarentur*.

1069. interiecti: these take the middle course between philosophers and statesmen, ready to help the state when occasion demands.

1070. delectarentur... familiari: with this, cf. *delectati... familiari*, l. 805; Cicero probably has Atticus in mind.

1072. potiusque: see Note on *ortusque*, l. 257.

1073. usus esset: equivalent to *opus esset*; *usus* in this sense is most common in the ante-classical period, and belongs especially to comedy.

1074. *nullo neque*: the negative *nullo* is subdivided by *neque*... *neque*.

turpi quaestu: cf. II. 24, 87: *Res autem familiaris quaeri debet iis rebus, a quibus abest turpitudine, conservari autem diligentia et parsimonia, eisdem etiam rebus augeri.*

1076. *quam plurimis*: sc. *potest*.

1078. *pareat*: *be subservient to*. *servantem*: about equivalent to a Conditional clause, *if one keeps*.

1079. *simpliciter*: cf. *simplices*, l. 736.

CHAPTER XXVII.

1081. *una reliqua*... *honestatis*: cf. l. 184: *Sed omne...modestia et temperantia*; also, *Tusc.* III. 8, 16: *temperans quem Graeci σωφρονα appellant eamque virtutem σωφροσύνην vocant, quam soleo equidem tum temperantiam, tum moderationem appellare, non numquam etiam modestiam.*

1082. *verecundia*: *modesty*, i.e. respect for the feelings of others; cf. l. 1150: *partes sunt...verecundiae non offendere*; also l. 1721: *est enim inimica verecundiae...honestum.*

1083. *ornatus vitae*: explained by *temperantia et modestia*; not an "ornament of life," but rather "an ennobled life."—HOLDEN.

1084. *perturbationum animi*: see Note on l. 768 and l. 778. *cernitur*: Cicero cannot find a suitable word to translate *σωφροσύνη*, and so employs a number of terms to describe it. *Hoc loco*: for the use of *loco*, see note on *ex quattuor...locis*, l. 211.

1085. *decorum*: *the becoming*, that which is fitting in character.

1086. *Huius vis ea est*: *such is its nature*.

1088. *qualis autem...intellegi*: cf. l. 1455: *Sed quoniam...intellegi*; *honestum* is subjective, *decorum* objective; *the becoming (decorum)* is the effect, or outward form of the *honestum*; cf. *id tum apparet...honestas*, below.

1092. *de qua hoc loco*: cf. *Hoc loco continetur id*, l. 1084.

1093. *tribus superioribus*: sc. *sapientia, iustitia, fortitudo*. *Nam*: namely, see Note on l. 102. *ratione...captum*: showing the relation between *decorum* and *sapientia*.

1095. *tueri*: sc. *verum*, to hold fast the truth. *contraque...captum*: cf. *labi...ducimus*, l. 216, and see Note; *falli* and *errare* refer to errors in judgment, *labi* and *decipi* to mistakes in conduct; *falli* and *decipi* are passive, *errare* and *labi* active in meaning.

1096. *delirare*: from *de* and *lira*, to get out of the furrow in ploughing; figuratively, to become deranged.

1097. *mente...captum*: to be insane; the passive of *capio*, and

especially in the perfect participle, *captus*, is used with the Ablative of Respect, to denote an impairment of the physical or mental powers; see G. 397, Phrases. *et iusta... indecora*: the relation between *decorum* and *iustitia*.

1098. *Similis... fortitudinis... indecorum*: illustrating the connection between *decorum* and *fortitudo*, the last of *tribus superioribus*, above.

1100. *quod contra*: for this expression, cf. l. 585; and for the meaning of *contra* in this clause, *quid indecore effeminatere facit*, l. 175.

1102. *recondita... ratione*: any abstruse reasoning.

1103. *in promptu*: see Note on l. 70; and cf. l. 707. *Est... quiddam*: for there is a certain something; *quiddam* refers to something indefinite to the hearer, but either definite or indefinite to the speaker.

1104. *in omni virtute*: cf. *in omni iniustitia*, l. 309.

1105. *quod... separari*: this clause is contrasted with *pertinet quidem... decorum*, above; for the meaning, cf. *qualis autem... explanari potest*, l. 1088. *re*: in fact, in reality.

1106. *venustas*: for the meaning, cf. l. 1499: *Cum autem... virilem*.

1107. *totum illud quidem*: *totum* here means wholly, entirely; for this use of *quidem*, see Note on l. 698.

1108. *confusum*: blended with. *mente et cogitatione*: i.e. theoretically only.

1109. *distinguitur*: is distinguished from virtue. *discriptio*: division; cf. *divisio... officii*, l. 101; *discripta est*, l. 193; *similisque... discriptio*, l. 252.

1110. *in omni honestate*: cf. *in omni virtute*, l. 1104.

1111. *aliud huic subiectum*: as a species to a genus: cf. *Quae... pars... generi est*, l. 1115, below.

1114. *in quo... differat*: cf. l. 1213; for this form of comparison, see Note on *a Peripateticis*, l. 17.

1115. *Quae... pars*: contrasted with *illud superius*; we should expect *hoc posterius*.

1116. *sic definiunt ut... velint*: for a similar expression, cf. *sic definiunt ut... definiant*, l. 105; *velint* may be regarded as here equivalent to *dicere* or *censere*.

1118. *specie quadam liberali*: cf. *quidam ornatus vitae*, l. 1082; *specie* is used in the sense of bearing, manner; *liberali*, that which becomes a free-born citizen.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

1119. *Haec ita intellegi*: that this explanation is correct.

1120. *sequuntur*: cf. *secutos*, l. 412. *alio loco*: in books on rhetoric and poetry; cf. *Or.* 21, 71: *semperque in omni parte orationis ut vitae, quid deceat, est considerandum*.

1122. *persona*: character; for the sentiment, cf. *Hor., de Arte Poet.* 114-127, and 156, 157.

1123. *Aeacus aut Minos*: Aeacus, son of Jupiter and king of Aegina, was made judge in the lower world, in company with Minos and Rhadamanthus, as a reward for his upright life. Minos was the son of Jupiter and king of Crete, and like Aeacus was noted for his justice and piety.

1124. *Oderint... parens*: these lines are supposed to have come from the *Atrous* of Accius. The first is also quoted by Seneca, *de Ira*, I. 16, 26.

1126. *ipse... parens*: sc. Thyestes. *Atrous*, the brother of Thyestes, killed the children of the latter and gave him their flesh to eat at a banquet. With this line cf. *Lucr.*, v. 993: *viva videns vivo sepeliri viscera busto*.

1128. *Atreo*: Atreus, king of Mycenae, was the son of Pelops, and the father of Agamemnon and Menelaus.

1130. *iudicabunt*: used with the Imperative force.

1131. *magna cum excellentia praestantiaque*: for this usage, see Note on *cum elegantia*, l. 291. *animantium reliquarum*: over other living creatures; for this use of the Objective Genitive, cf. *honorumque contentio*, l. 1002.

1132. *Quocirca*: this belongs to *nobis autem*, etc., to which the clause *poetae... videbunt* is subordinate, logically.

1134. *videbunt*: see Note on *iudicabunt*, l. 1130. *constantiae... partes*: the rôle of constancy; for *partes*, cf. *Iustitiae partes*, l. 1150.

1137. *adversus*: towards; see Note on l. 397. *et illud... decorum... et hoc*: cf. *descriptio duplex... honestatis*, l. 1109.

1138. *late fusum sit*: equivalent to *late pateat*.

1140. *apta compositione*: symmetry.

1142. *sic hoc decorum... factorum*: cf. *quam similitudinem... putat*, l. 171.

1146. *reverentia adversus homines et... reliquorum*: this change in construction from a prepositional phrase to an Objective Genitive is less common in Cicero than in later writers; *homines* is explained by *optimi... reliquorum*.

1147. *de se . . . sentiat*: *se* refers to a subject implied in *arrogantis* and *dissoluti*; for this use of the reflexive, see G. 521, 3; and Madvig, 490, c, 5, where this example is cited.

1149. *dissoluti*: *remiss*; devoid of all sense of obligation. *Est . . . quod differat*: equivalent to *aliquantum differt*. *hominum . . . habenda*: i.e. in our conduct toward others.

1150. *verecundiam*: see Note on l. 1082. *partes*: cf. *partes*, l. 1135.

1151. *non offendere*: sc. *eos*; *not to hurt their feelings*.

1154. *autem*: *moreover*. *ab eo*: sc. *decoro*. *primum*: this corresponds to *Sed maxima vis*, l. 1159.

1155. *habet viam quae deducit*: a circumlocution for *deducit*. *convenientiam*: *harmony with*. *conservationemque naturae*: *observance of nature*.

1156. *sequemur*: for the tense, see Note on *amabimus*, l. 341.

1157. *sequemurque*: *que* is Adversative in force; see Note on l. 257. *et id . . . atque forte*: referring to three of the cardinal virtues, *sapientia, iustitia, fortitudo*.

1160. *in hac . . . parte*: sc. *temperantia*.

1163. *Duplex est*: the Stoics divided the soul into the μέρος λογικόν and μέρος ἄλογον or ἐπιθυμητικόν. *vis animorum . . . natura*: see Note on *naturam vimque*, l. 212.

1164. *una pars*: *one faculty*. *quae . . . Graece*: *quae* agrees with *ὁρμή* in gender and not with its antecedent *appetitu*—a case of attraction. This form of attraction is common when the Relative is combined with the copula as here.

1167. *Ita fit . . . officii*: see Critical Appendix.

CHAPTER XXIX.

1170. *probabilem*: *commendable*; cf. l. 108. *discriptio*: *definition*; cf. l. 87.

1171. *appetitus . . . praecurrant*: *the appetites, passions*, are likened to spirited steeds, to be held in check by reason; see Note on *gyrum*, l. 1052; and cf. Plato, *Phaedr.* p. 246, b.

1172. *pigritiam . . . ignaviam*: *indolence . . . lack of spirit*; the first applies to the body, the second to the disposition.

1173. *sintque*: *que* has the force of *but*; see Note on l. 257. *animi perturbatione*: cf. l. 310; some editors bracket *animi*, because, as the text stands, *appetitus* and not *homines* is the subject of *careant*; cf. *actio . . . debet . . . agere . . . possit*, l. 1168.

1174. *elucebit*: cf. *elucet in vita*, l. 1143.

1175. *evagantur . . . exultantes . . . retinentur*: cf. *praecurrant*, above.

1177. *a ratione*: *ratio* is personified as the driver of the fiery steeds of appetite; cf. *rationi parent*, below.

1179. *a quibus*: equivalent to *et ab eis*, referring to *appetitus* personified.

1180. *perturbantur . . . corpora*: most editors regard this as a case of zeugma; *detorquentur* would be more appropriate with *corpora*, but the meaning is made clear by the following sentence.

1182. *gestiunt*: *are transported*.

1184. *Ex quibus*: see Note on *a quibus*, l. 1179. *illud*: explained by *appetitus . . . diligentiam*. *ut . . . revertamur*: the principal clause on which a clause of Design depends is sometimes to be supplied from the context. *officii formam*: cf. *Formam . . . honesti*, l. 181.

1186. *animadversionem*: *self-inspection*.

1187. *temere*: *rashly*, without thinking. *fortuito*: *by chance*, trusting to luck.

1188. *a natura*: cf. *a ratione*, l. 1177.

1189. *ad severitatem*: note the Adversative asyndeton.

1191. *illo quidem*: see Note on l. 698.

1192. *quietibus*: see Note on *reditus*, l. 232.

1194. *profusum*: *immoderate*. *ingenuum*: cf. *liberali*, l. 1118.

1195. *omnem*: *unlimited*.

1196. *honestatis actionibus*: equivalent to *actionibus quas nobis honestas praescribit*.—HEINE.

1197. *probi*: *honest, true*. *ingenii*: *inborn, natural character*. *eluceat*: *let it shine forth*.

1198. *Duplex*: for *duo*, explained by *unum . . . alterum*. *inliberale*: the opposite of *ingenuum*, l. 1194.

1199. *petulans*: *impudent*. *flagitiosum*: *disgraceful*. *obscenum*: *coarse*. *urbanum*: *refined*.

1200. *ingeniosum*: *bright, clever*. *facetum*: *witty*.

1201. *Plautus*: T. Maccius Plautus (B.C. 254-184) was a native of Sarsina, in Umbria. Twenty of his comedies have come down to us. *Atticorum antiqua comoedia*: the history of Attic comedy is divided into three periods: the Old Comedy, of which Aristophanes was the most celebrated exponent, flourished from about 458 to 404 B.C.; the Middle Comedy until 340 B.C.; the New Comedy from 340 to about 260 B.C. Of the last period, Menander was the leading writer. His plays furnished models for Plautus and Terence.

1202. *Socraticorum libri*: cf. *Brut.* 85, 292; *ego ironiam illam, quam*

in Socrate dicunt fuisse, qua ille in Platonis et Xenophontis et Aeschinis libris utitur, facetam et elegantem puto.

1203. facete dicta: the modifier of the participle, used as a substantive, is generally, as here, an adverb; with *dicta*, some verb like *exstant* must be supplied. **Catone:** see Note on l. 916.

1204. ἀποφθέγματα: witty sayings.

1205. tempore: at the right time; the phrase *in tempore* and the locative form *temperi* are more frequently used in this sense.

1208. modus: limit.

1209. ut . . . profundamus: that we may not go to excess in it; cf. *profusum*, l. 1194. **elati:** carried away.

1211. campus noster: the Campus Martius, the athletic field of the Roman youth.

CHAPTER XXX.

1212. officii quaestionem: inquiry about duty.

1213. in promptu: cf. l. 1103. **natura hominis . . . beluis antecedit:** see Note on *in quo . . . differat*, l. 1114.

1215. feruntur: are impelled; contrasted with *ducitur*, below; cf. *deducimur . . . feruntur*, l. 1370.

1218. Quin etiam: nay even; used to add a stronger assertion.

1220. non re: not in fact. **sed:** employed to resume the thought interrupted by the parenthetical sentence; in like manner *igitur*, *ergo*, *verum*, *verum tamen*, and *sed tamen* are used. **si quis . . . erectior:** referring to *si quis . . . propensior*, above. Some editors take a different view, and hold that *erectior* is not equivalent to *ad voluptates propensior*, but is rather to be taken in the sense of "more elevated in character."

1222. verecundiam: a feeling of shame.

1224. eamque: for the force of *que*, see Note on l. 257.

1225. sin: but if. **aliquid tribuat:** makes some concession.

1226. victus cultusque: see Note on l. 152.

1229. in natura: see Critical Appendix.

1234. personis: characters; cf. *nobis . . . natura*, l. 1130. **ex eo, quod:** because of this, that.

1237. ratio . . . officii: the rational method of finding out duty.

1238. altera: corresponding to *una*, above.

1241. aliis: with the second *aliis* sc. *in formis*.

1243. L. Crasso: L. Licinius Crassus (B.C. 140–91), consul 95 B.C., was the most eminent orator of his time. He is one of the principal speakers in Cicero's *de Oratore*. **L. Philippo:** L. Marcus Philip-

pus, consul 91 B.C. For his standing as an orator, cf. *Brut.* 47, 173 : *Duobus igitur summis, Crasso et Antonio, L. Philippus proximus accedebat, sed longo intervallo tamen proximus.*

1244. de industria : referring to what is acquired by effort. **C. Caesare :** C. Julius Caesar Strabo, noted for his wit as an orator ; one of the speakers in the *de Oratore*. He was killed in the Marian proscription, 87 B.C.

1245. M. Scauro : see Note on l. 879. **M. Druso :** M. Livius Drusus, tribune of the plebs, 91 B.C., lost his life in his attempt to introduce reforms and to reconcile the contending parties in the state. Cicero, *Brut.* 62, 222, speaks of him as *gravem oratorem... cum de re publica diceret.*

1246. C. Laelio : see Note on l. 1040.

1247. ambitio : *desire for leadership.* **tristior :** *more severe.*

1249. simulatorem : from the context and from Socrates' well-known method, we should expect *dissimulatorem* instead of *simulatorem*. *εἰρῶνα ; εἰρῶν* is a dissembler, one who says less than he thinks ; cf. Quint., ix. 2. 46 : *Nam ideo dictus εἰρῶν agens imperitum et admiratorem aliorum tamquam sapientium.*

1250. Pythagoram : see Note on l. 658. **Periclem :** Pericles controlled the destinies of Athens from 469 to 429 B.C. "The age of Pericles" is the most brilliant period in Athenian history.

1252. Q. Maximum : see Note on l. 972. **celare :** the series of infinitives, *celare...præcipere*, depend upon *accepimus* and explain *callidum*. The Present is used where we should expect the Perfect ; see G. 281, 2, N.

1254. præcipere : *to anticipate ;* ORELLI prefers *præcipere*.

1255. Themistoclem : see Note on l. 863. **Pheraeum Iasonem :** Jason of Pherae in Thessaly was ambitious to make himself master of all Greece, as Philip of Macedon afterwards succeeded in doing, but died 360 B.C., before he had time to carry out his plans.

1256. factum Solonis : Solon pretended to be mad, that he might recite unmolested an elegiac poem which he had written urging the Athenians to renew the war against Salamis. Failure of the Athenians in former attempts upon the island had led to the passage of a law forbidding any one to propose a renewal of the conflict.

1257. eius vita : *eius*, and not *sua*, is used because the thought is Cicero's and not Solon's.

1259. simplices : cf. l. 736.

1260. de insidiis : equivalent to *per insidias*.

1263. Sullam : see Note on l. 526 ; *L.* has probably fallen out of the text. **M. Crassum :** see Note on l. 288.

1265. Lysandrum: cf. l. 874. **contra**: equivalent to *contrarium*; see Note on l. 585. **Callicratidam**: see Note on l. 962.

1266. itemque . . . alium . . . efficere: depending upon *accepimus*; instead of a second *alium*, the clause *contraque patrem . . . sermonis* stands in opposition.

1268. unus de multis: Cicero uses the same expression in *Tusc.* i. 9, 17; cf. Hor., *Sat.* i. 9, 71: *sum paulo infirmior, unus multorum*. **Catulo**: Q. Lutatius Catulus was the colleague of Marius in the consulship, 102 B.C., and with him crushed the power of the Cimbri at Verceilae. Being proscribed by Marius, 87 B.C., he committed suicide.

1269. filio: see Note on l. 880. **Q. Mucio . . . Mancia**: the text is uncertain. HEINE reads Q. Mucio, L. Marcio; but the best MSS. have Q. Mucio Mancia, an unknown name. Q. Mucio, if read, refers to Scaevola the augur or to Scaevola the *pontifex maximus*; so L. Marcio to L. Marcius Philippus mentioned in l. 1243. REID, as quoted by HOLDEN, thinks Mucio refers to one of the well-known Scaevola family and that "Mancia is probably a mere dittography." Some editors think that *in* and the praenomen have fallen out between Mucio and Mancian.

1270. P. Scipione Nasica: consul 111 B.C.

1271. patrem: see Note on l. 884. **Ti. Gracchi**: see Note on l. 884.

1273. ne Xenocratem . . . philosophorum: these words have no apparent connection with the preceding or following clauses. Xenocrates was a pupil of Plato and afterwards became president of the Academy.

CHAPTER XXXI.

1277. Admodum: literally, *to a degree*, i.e. *to a high degree*, especially. **sua cuique**: cf. *suum cuiusque*, l. 253; *suam cuiusque*, l. 1379.

1278. non vitiosa: cf. *non vitiosae*, l. 1391; equivalent to a Relative clause. **decorum . . . quaerimus**: cf. *honestum . . . quaerimus*, l. 906.

1279. Sic . . . est . . . ut: with this circumlocution, cf. *efficitur ut . . . appareat*, l. 1137.

1280. universam naturam: contrasted with *propriam nostram*, below; cf. *una communis . . . trahitur*, l. 1234.

1281. propriam nostram? *our own bent*.

1282. studia . . . metiamur: with this sentence, HOLDEN compares Hor., *Ep.* i. 7, 98: *Metiri se quemque suo modulo ac pede verum est. neque enim attinet: for it is of no use.*

1284. *sequi*: to aim at.

1285. *emergit*: it is clear; cf. *elucebit*, l. 1174.

1286. *invita Minerva*: Minerva, the goddess of wisdom, is often put for *ingenium*, as in this instance; for a similar expression, cf. Hor., *de Arte Poet.* 385: *Tu nihil invita dices faciesve Minerva*; cf. *Am.* 5, 19: *pingui...Minerva*.

1287. *si quicquam*: if anything at all; for this use of *quicquam*, implying doubt as to the existence of a thing, cf. *Am.* 2, 9: *aut enim nemo, quod quidem magis credo, aut, si quisquam, ille sapiens fuit*.

1288. *aequabilitas*: consistency.

1290. *possis*: the Subjunctive of the Ideal Second Person used of an indefinite subject, one.

1292. *inculcantes*: forcing in, i.e. needlessly introducing; cf. *Tusc.* i. 8, 15: *Scis enim me Graece loqui in Latino sermone non plus solere quam in Graeco Latine*.

1293. *omnem...vitam*: cf. *universae vitae*, above.

1294. *discrepantiam*: inconsistency, contrasted with *aequabilitas*, above.

1295. *naturarum*: see Note on *reditus*, l. 232. *ut non...debeat*: the teaching of the Stoics. Cicero expresses a different sentiment, *Som. Scipionis*, 3, 7: *Qua re et tibi, Publi, et piis omnibus retinendus animus est in custodia corporis, nec iniussu eius a quo ille est vobis datus ex hominum vita migrandum est, ne munus humanum adsignatum a deo defugisse videamini*.

1297. *M. Cato*: M. Porcius Cato Uticensis (B.C. 95-46) was the great-grandson of Cato the Censor. In the civil war he sided with Pompey. After Caesar's victory at Thapsus in Africa, Cato took his own life rather than submit to the conqueror. In practice and belief he was a consistent Stoic.

1298. *alia*: sc. *in*; cf. *alia in causa*, above.

1300. *faciliores*: more flexible.

1302. *perpetua...roboravisset*: cf. *pro Mur.* 2, 3: *M. Catoni vitam ad certam rationis normam dirigenti et diligentissime perpendenti momenta officiorum omnium*.

1303. *moriendum*: sc. *ei*; the verb is used impersonally.

1305. *Ulixes*: Ulysses (Greek Odysseus), king of Ithaca, son of Laertes and husband of Penelope, noted among the Greeks at Troy for his cunning.

1306. *Circe*: daughter of the Sun, famed for her magic arts. *Calypso*: daughter of Atlas, dwelling in the island of Ogygia, where she detained Odysseus seven years.

1308. domi . . . pertulit : upon his return disguised as a beggar, after his long wanderings ; cf. Hom., *Odyss.* xvii. and xviii.

1310. Aiax : son of Telamon, next to Achilles the bravest soldier and the most dignified in bearing among the Greeks at Troy.
quo . . . traditur : equivalent to *eo animo quo fuisse traditur* ; *animo* is an Ablative of Quality.

1311. contemplantes : see Note on *servantem*, l. 1078.

1312. sui : i.e. *suæ naturæ proprium*.

1314. cuiusque maxime suum : the position of *suum* is a departure from the usual order *suum cuiusque*.

1316. bonorum et vitiorum : *good and bad qualities*.

1319. Epigonos : *Epigoni* is the title of a tragedy by L. Accius (b. 170 B.C.). The role of Alcmaeon is the one probably referred to. *Clytemestra* (*Clytaemnestra*) was by the same author.

Medum : *Medus*, the son of Medea, is the leading character in a tragedy of that name, by M. Pacuvius (B.C. 220-132), who also wrote the *Antiopa*.

1320. Melanippam . . . Aiacem : written by Ennius.

1321. Rupilius : an actor, whom Cicero had seen in his boyhood ; not otherwise known. **Aesopus :** Aesopus (B.C. 122-54) was, next to Roscius, the leading Roman actor of the day. He was the friend of Cicero, and gave him instruction in elocution.

1322. hoc : sc. *decorum*. **videbit :** *look to, observe*. For this form of argument, *a minore ad maius*, cf. *Tusc.* II. 17, 39; *Ergo haec veteranus miles facere poterit, doctus vir sapiensque non poterit?*

1324. elaborabimus : the Future used with the force of the Imperative.

1325. omnis : for its emphatic meaning, see Note on l. 669.

1326. meditatio : *practice*.

1327. at : *at least*.

1329. sequamur : for the meaning, see Note on l. 1284. There is some authority for *assequamur*.

CHAPTER XXXII.

1330. supra dixi : in l. 1233.

1331. aliqui : for this form, see G. 107, and n. 1: A. & G. 105, d ; B. 91; II. 187, 1 ; L. 691. **tempus :** cf. *temporibus*, *circumstances*, below.

1332. quarta : sc. *persona*. **iudicio nostro :** cf. *quæ iudicio*, l. 581. **accommodamus :** cf. *accommodaverunt*, l. 818.

1334. in casu sita : equivalent to a Causal clause.

1336. philosophiam . . . ius civile . . . eloquentiam : the three learned professions at Rome; see Note on l. 1408.

1337. ipsarumque . . . excellere : this is not in harmony with the Stoic doctrine of virtue and the Stoic theory of the ideal man.

1341. Q. Mucius : Q. Mucius Scaevola, consul 95 B.C., belonged to a family noted for legal attainments. Scaevola lost his life in the Marian proscription, 82 B.C. To distinguish him from his cousin, Q. Mucius Scaevola the augur, he is known as the *pontifex maximus*, from the priestly office which he held. The father, P. Mucius Scaevola, consul 133 B.C., was also an eminent lawyer. **Pauli filius**

Africanus : P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus Minor (adopted by the son of Africanus Maior) was the son of L. Aemilius Paulus, who defeated Perseus of Macedon at Pydna, 168 B.C.; see Note on l. 882.

1343. Africanus eloquentia : cf. *Brut.* 21, 82; *C. Laelius et P. Africanus in primis eloquentes, quorum exstant orationes, ex quibus existimari de ingeniis oratorum potest.*

1345. Timotheus : the friend and pupil of Isocrates, and prominent as an Athenian general from 378 to 356 B.C.; cf. *Or.* III. 34, 139: *clarissimum virum Timotheum Cononis praestantissimi imperatoris filium, summum ipsum imperatorem hominemque doctissimum.*

1346. fuisset : had shown himself. **ingenii :** referring to his talent as a public speaker.

1348. institutum : plan of life.

1349. elaborant : work with success; for this word, cf. l. 33 and l. 1324.

1353. quales : what kind of men, morally. **in quo . . . vitae :** in what occupation.

1354. quae : equivalent to *cuius rei*; see Note on *in hoc numero*, l. 35.

1355. Ineunte . . . adulescentia : referring to the time when the *toga virilis* is assumed and the boy becomes a Roman citizen. **inecillitas consilii :** weakness in judgment.

1359. Nam quod : for as to the fact that; *nam* is thus used to introduce an answer to a supposed objection to that which precedes. **Herculem Prodicus dicit :** Prodicus of Ceos, a famous Sophist and rhetorician, was a contemporary of Socrates. His fable, The Choice of Hercules, has come down to us in the works of Xenophon, *Mem.* II. 1, 21 ff. In the story, Virtue and Vice are personified, and each seeks to win the favor of Hercules. Virtue wins the day.

1366. Iovis satu edito : supposed to be a quotation from an earlier poet, or a translation from the Greek.

1367. quos : sc. *imitari*.

1369. consuetudinem moremque : practice and custom.

1370. *feruntur* : are carried away.
 1371. *maiori parti* : cf. *Maior...pars*, l. 1705.
 1372. *felicitate* : good fortune.
 1373. *bonitate naturae* : natural excellence of character ; cf. l. 65.
 1374. *secuti sunt* : contrasted with *impellimur*, *deducimur*, *feruntur*, above.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

1375. *Illud* : the following.
 1376. *eorum* : Epexegetical Genitive, the class of those. *ingenii...doctrina* : *ingenii* in the sense of natural ability ; *eruditione* *atque doctrina*, literary culture.
 1377. *utraque re* : i.e. *magnitudine...eruditione atque doctrina*.
 1380. *est...revocandum* : must be referred to. *omne* : wholly.
 1381. *ex eo, quo modo* : equivalent to *ex eo modo, quo*.
 1382. *supra dictum est* : in ll. 1277-1285.
 1383. *ei rei* : sc. *exquirere ex eo...quid deceat*.
 1384. *constare* : to be consistent.
 1385. *Ad hanc...rationem* : for determining this ; cf. *in qua deliberatione*, l. 1379, above.
 1387. *utriusque* : namely *natura* and *fortuna*. *omnino* : *omnino*, followed by *sed*, is used Concessively, with the force of certainly, to be sure ; cf. l. 943.
 1389. *tamquam...mortalis* : i.e. as if not a powerful goddess.
 1391. *non vitiosae* : so far as it is not evil ; cf. *non vitiosa*, l. 1278.
 1392. *contulerit* : cf. *revocandum*, l. 1380, above.
 1395. *morum institutorumque* : manner and rule of living ; *morum* is not used here in the sense of "character."
 1396. *tempora* : circumstances.
 1399. *diluere* : cf. *Am.* 21, 76 ; *Tales igitur amicitiae sunt remissione usus eluendae et, ut Catonem dicere audiui, dissuendae magis quam discindendae*.
 1401. *bono consilio* : thoughtfully, wisely.
 1402. *fecisse videamur* : literally, that we may be seen to have done this ; translate, that people may see that we have done this.
 1403. *ne vitia sint imitanda* : the more natural expression would seem to be either *ne vitia imitemur*, or *vitia imitanda non esse*.
 1404. *feret* : in the sense of *permittet*, *concedet*.
 1405. *possit* : the subject is to be supplied from the clause *si natura...feret*, and may be taken in an indefinite sense, *homo* ; see Note on *putat...faciat*, l. 174. *filius Africani* : son of the elder Africanus ; cf. *Sen.* 11, 35 : *Quam fuit inbecillus P. Africani filius*,

is qui te adoptavit, quam tenui aut nulla potius valetudine! Quod ni ita fuisset, alterum illud exstitisset lumen civitatis; ad paternam enim magnitudinem animi doctrina uberior accesserat. **hunc:** referring to one nearer the time of Cicero; contrasted with *superioris*.

1407. patris similis esse: sc. *in genere vitae*. **ille:** the elder Africanus. **sui:** Publius Scipio; see Note on l. 715.

1408. si igitur: see Note on *sed*, l. 1220. **defensitare:** note the frequentative form, *to defend often, to practice defending*. In this, and the following *populum...gerere*, reference is made to the three professions which were open to a well-born ambitious Roman; namely, the legal, political, and military.

1411. quo minus: equivalent to *ut eo minus*.

1412. quod desit: cf. *si...non poterit...gerere*, above.

1414. cui: sc. *gloriae*.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

1417. aliaque: see Note on l. 257.

1418. Est...vereri: cf. Ov., *Fast.* v. 57, 58:

Magna fuit quondam capitis reverentia cāni,
Inque suo pretio ruga senilis erat;

also Juv., XIII. 54–56:

Credebant quo grande nefas et morte pīandum,
Si iuvenis vetulo non adsurrexerat et si
Barbato cuicumque puer.

1419. deligere optimos...nitatur: young men at Rome, upon the assumption of the *toga virilis*, usually attached themselves to eminent Roman statesmen and received instruction from them in the practical duties of citizenship. This period of apprenticeship lasted about a year. Cf. *Am.* I. 1: *ego autem a patre ita eram deductus ad Scaevolam sumpta virili toga, ut...a senis latere numquam discederem*; and II. 13, 46–47: *Facillime...cognoscuntur adulescentes qui se ad claros et sapientes viros bene consulentes rei publicae contulerunt*; ...*P. Rutili adulescentiam ad opinionem et innocentiae et iuris scientiae P. Muci commendavit domus*; also Tac., *Dial.* 34; Plin., *Ep.* VIII. 14.

1421. ineuntis...aetatis: cf. *adulescentis*, above, for the meaning. **constituenda:** equivalent to *confirmanda*, established.

1424. patientia: *endurance*. **eorum:** this is used as if *adulescentium* had been expressed in place of *ineuntis aetatis*, above, and

adullescentes instead of *haec aetas*; an example of *constructio ad sensum*.

1426. *iucunditati*: not so strong a word as *voluptati*.

1428. *eius modi . . . rebus*: referring to *relaxare . . . iucunditati*.

1432. *prudentia*: *experience*.

1434. *se . . . dedat*: *give itself up to*.

1435. *sin autem*: usually employed only when another Conditional sentence has preceded. In this instance the first is implied in *luxuria*, as if it were *si luxuriosi sunt senes, foedissimum est*.

1436. *accessit*: note the Perfect, where the English would have the Present. The action of the clause is antecedent to that of *duplex . . . est*: see G. 567; Madvig, 335, b, 1.

1437. *concipit*: *receives, incurs*.

1439. *alienum*: *foreign to the subject, irrelevant*.

1440. *de civium*: see Critical Appendix.

1441. *se gerere personam civitatis*: *is the representative of, stands for, the State*.

1443. *servare leges*: *to support the constitution*. *iura describere*: *to administer justice*; *describere* means *to mark out*, and so *to determine for each one his rights, ius suum cuique tribuere*; cf. l. 252, *discriptio*; also II. 4, 15: *iuris aequa discriptio*.

1445. *summissum et abiectum*: i.e. lacking in independence, subservient to others in voting and in the transaction of public business.

1446. *se eferentem*: *puffed up, insolent*. *tum*: see Note on l. 232. *in re publica*: *in affairs of state*.

1447. *sentire*: this use of *sentire* for *aestimare*, with two Accusatives, is rare; cf. III. 19, 75: *isque quem sentimus virum bonum*.

1448. *Peregrini . . . incolae*: *peregrinus* applies to a foreign traveller staying in a country temporarily; *incola* is a foreign resident with a fixed abode, but without the rights of citizenship.

1450. *de alio*: in the sense of *de alieno negotio*. *minimeque*: *but least of all*.

1451. *curiosum*: *meddlesome*. *Ita fere . . . constantiam*: a summary of the preceding.

1454. *servare constantiam*: equivalent to *sibi constare*.

CHAPTER XXXV.

1456. *motu et statu*: cf. *motus statusque*, l. 1183.

1457. *positum . . . in*: *dependent upon*. *formositate*: *natural beauty*. *ordine*: *harmony*, in details and with the surroundings. *ornatu*: *outward adornment*.

1458. difficilibus . . . eloquendum : *hard to define ; ad* with the Gerund is often used instead of the Ablative of the Supine, especially after *facilis, difficilis, and iucundus.*

1459. satis . . . intellegi : *sc. ea, these things ; cf. facilius intellegi,* l. 1089. **autem :** this serves to connect its clause with *sed quoniam,* above.

1460. ut probemur : the clause of Purpose is in explanatory apposition with *cura illa.* **quibuscum :** members of the same family. **apud quos :** members of the same community.

1461. Principio : see Note on l. 131.

1463. formam : *the countenance.* **in qua :** used with restrictive force, *in so far as.*

1464. eam : redundant grammatically, but expressed for emphasis. **in promptu :** *cf. ll. 707, 1103.*

1468. verecundia : *modesty.*

1474. modo occulte : *sc. fiat.* **obscenum :** *immodest.*

1475. aperta : to be taken with *actio.* **petulantia :** the opposite of *verecundia.* **orationis obscenitas :** *the improper mention of them ;* this expression balances *actio aperta.*

1476. Cynici : the Cynic school of philosophy was founded by Antisthenes, a pupil of Socrates. The name is derived from the gymnasium in Athens, *κυνόσαπυς*, in which Antisthenes gave his lectures. Diogenes of Sinope, a disciple of Antisthenes, is the most famous of the Cynics.

1477. Stoici paene Cynici : the Stoic philosophy was closely related to the Cynic, especially in its ethical teachings. Zeno, the founder of the Stoic school, had been a pupil of Crates the Cynic, but the Stoics had more regard for the proprieties and comforts of life than the Cynics.

1481. dicitur non obscene : equivalent to *dicere non obscenum est ;* *cf. l. 1474.* **liberis :** *i.e. procreandis liberis.*

1482. in eam sententiam : *to the same purport.*

1483. ab eisdem : the philosophers referred to above.

1484. ab omni : used instead of the Accusative *omne.*

1486. accubitio : *reclining at table.*

1487. duo : equivalent to *duae res.*

1488. effeminatum : this is contrasted with *rusticum.*

1489. Nec . . . dissoluta : for *Nec vero concedendum est, ut histrionibus,* etc. ; the object of the subordinate clause, *histrionibus oratoribusque,* is placed in the principal clause in accordance with the Greek idiom.

1490. apta : *proper, becoming.* **dissoluta :** *indifferent, i.e. not obligatory upon.*

1494. *aspiciantur non decore*: for this form of expression, cf. *dicatur non obscene*, l. 1481.

1495. *parentibus*: for *patribus*.

1497. *natura . . . duce*: equivalent to a Causal clause.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

1497. *pulchritudinis*: *beauty*.

1500. *venustas*: *comeliness, grace*. *dignitas*: i.e. a dignified bearing which commands respect.

1503. *ornatus*: cf. *ornatu . . . apto*, l. 1457.

1504. *palaestrici motus*: *the movements of the training school*; *palaestrae* were schools for gymnasts; the term was also applied to rooms set apart for physical exercise in the homes of wealthy Romans; cf. Quint., l. II, 16: *a quibus (palaestritis) gestus motusque formantur: ut recta sint brachia, ne indoctae rusticaere manus, ne status indecorus, ne qua in proferendis pedibus inscitia, ne caput oculique ab alia corporis inclinatione dissideant*. *odiosiores*: i.e. too affected.

1506. *recta*: *plain*.

1507. *Formae*: see Note on *formositate*, l. 1457. *coloris bonitate*: *a good complexion*—an evidence of good health.

1508. *exercitationibus*: extreme paleness was considered a sign of idleness and a mark of effeminacy.

1509. *odiosa*: cf. *odiosiores*, above. *tantum quae*: cf. *tantum quantum*, l. 138.

1510. *inhumanam*: *unmannerly, ill-bred*.

1513. *tarditatibus*: for the number, see Note on *reditus*, l. 232.

1514. *ferculis*: *fercula* were frames used especially in triumphal processions to display the spoils taken from the enemy. HEINE thinks Cicero here refers to the men carrying the *fercula*.

1517. *constantiam*: *self-possession, steadiness of character*.

1520. *perturbationes*: *fits of despondency*.

1522. *Motus . . . duplices sunt*: for the same division, cf. l. 1163.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

1528. *contentio . . . tribuatur*: following the clause introduced by *quoniam* we might expect an expression similar to that in l. 1418: *aliquid . . . dicens est*, or l. 1461: *his quoque . . . dicantur*. *Contentio* is distinguished from *sermo* as *oratory* from *conversation*. *disceptionibus . . . iudiciorum, contionum, senatus*: referring to judicial, demonstrative (or political), and deliberative oratory.

1530. *circulis...versetur*: occasions for conversation—at social gatherings, in familiar discussions, and at the meeting of friends.

1531. *Contentionis...rhetorum*: with this construction cf. *C. Caesaris...translatio*, l. 526.

1533. *haud scio an*: for the force of this expression, see Note on l. 399. *haec*: sc. *sermonis praecepta rhetorum*. *discentium...magistri*: i.e. pupils desiring to learn can find teachers.

1534. *huic*: sc. *sermoni*.

1535. *rhetorum turba*: with the throng of pupils of the rhetoricians. *quamquam*: for its meaning, see Note on l. 342.

1537. *orationis indicem*: the organ of speech.

1538. *duo*: see Note on *duobus*, l. 777. *sequamur*: for the meaning, see Note on *sequeretur*, l. 33.

1539. *omnino*: Concessive, *to be sure, of course*: see Note on l. 1387.

1540. *presse*: *presse loquitur qui ita clare loquitur, ut omnes audiantur litterae, sed tanta lenitate, ut nullius aures offendant*.—GRAEVIVS. *presse* may be used in reference to literary style, or, as here, in reference to pronunciation. Cf. *Or.* III. 12, 45.

1541. *Nihil fuit...ut*: equivalent to *Nihil fuit...quod*, or *cur*. *Catulis*: see Note on l. 1268. *exquisito iudicio...litterarum*: excellent literary taste.

1543. *sed et*: *et* is for *etiam*; for this usage, see G. 478, N. 2; L. 1648. *alii*: sc. *litterati*.

1544. *sonus*: pronunciation. *expressae*: in a good sense it means *distinct*, but the context shows that it is taken in a derogatory sense here—"mouthed." *oppressae*: indistinctly uttered, "minced."

1545. *obscurum...putidum*: *obscurum* refers to *oppressae*, and *putidum*, affected, to *expressae*, an example of chiasmus. *sine contentione*: without undue effort; for this use of a prepositional phrase, see Note on *cum elegantia*, l. 291.

1546. *languens*: monotonous. *canora*: as a fault in speaking, "sing-song," "droning." L. Crassi: see Note on l. 1243.

1548. *Caesar*: see Note on l. 1244. He and the elder Catulus were half-brothers, having the same mother, Popilia.

1549. *contentiones aliorum*: the labored efforts of others.

1550. *sermone*: his conversational style.

1551. *in omni re*: with this form of expression cf. *in omni*, l. 309.

1552. *Socratici*: Plato, Xenophon, and Aeschines; see Note on l. 1202.

1554. *venerit, excludat...putet*: the grammatical subject is *sermo*.

The logical subject is *the person who engages in conversation*, and is implied in the word *sermo*; see Note on *possit*, l. 1405.

1556. *non iniquam*: an example of litotes.

1560. *studiose*: *eagerly, zealously*. *detrahendi causa*: *for the purpose of injuring them*.

1561. *per ridiculum*: equivalent to *ridicule, in jest*. *severe*: *in earnest*; coördinate in the sentence with *per ridiculum*.

1565. *ad haec*: i.e. to the subjects mentioned in l. 1563. *oratio*: used for *sermo*. *utcumque aderunt*: i.e. the conversation should be suited to the company present. MÜLLER thinks something has been lost, and that the reading may have been *utcumque adfecti erunt, qui aderunt*.

1566. *isdem de rebus*: *with regard to the same things, or topics of conversation*. *nec...nec*: *aut...aut* could be used instead of *nec...nec*.

1569. *desinendi modus*: i.e. the speaker should observe the proper time to cease speaking.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

1570. *in omni vita*: see Note on l. 1039; to be taken with both *praecipitur* and *fugiamus*.

1573. *existat*: *appear*.

1576. *conferemus*: see Note on *confugient*, l. 419. *videamur*: for the force of this verb, see Note on l. 1402.

1577. *incidunt*: cf. *incidunt*, l. 351; translate, *it happens that*.

1579. *id agendum*: like *utendum est*, to be taken with *in quibus*. *ut...videamur irati*: anger is to be pretended; cf. *Tusc.* iv. 25, 55: *Oratorem vero irasci minime decet, simulare non dedecet*; also Seneca, *de Ira*, ii. 14; *Numquam itaque iracundia admittenda est, aliquando simulanda, si segnes audientium animi concitandi sunt*.

1580. *urendum et secandum*: *burning and cutting*, in surgical operations.

1581. *raro invitique*: see Note on *consulto et cogitata*, l. 311. *necessario*: this form of the adverb is more common than *necessarie*.

1582. *ira...absit*: cf. *videamur irati*, above; the anger is to be pretended only, not real.

1584. *Magnam...partem*: *in most cases*; cf. *Maximam...partem*, l. 281.

1585. *gravitate*: *seriousness*. *severitas*: *sternness*.

1586. *contumelia repellatur*: equivalent to *contumelia removeatur*;

see Note on *contumelia*, l. 1023. *quod acerbitatis*: for the Partitive Genitive with *quod*, cf. l. 224: *quod...operae curaeque*.

1587. *id*: *id* is superfluous; it simply repeats *illud ipsum*, the subject of *esse susceptum*; for a similar instance, cf. *eam*, l. 1464. See Critical Appendix.

1592. *constanter*: for this use of the adverb, see Note on *dicitur non obscene*, l. 1481.

1593. *Deforme*: *unbecoming*.

1594. *audientium*: used substantively.

1595. *militem gloriosum*: *the boastful soldier* was a stock character in the New Attic Comedy, and in Roman Comedy modeled after the New Attic. Cf. the *Miles Gloriosus* of Plautus; also *Am.* 26, 98: *Nec parasitorum in comoediis adsentatio faceta nobis videretur, nisi essent milites gloriosi*.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

1596. *volumus*: sc. *omnia persequi*.

1597. *quidem certe*: *at least*; for the same expression, cf. *Sen.* 2, 6: *quoniam speramus, volumus quidem certe senes fieri*.

1598. *honorati*: *distinguished by official honors*. *placeat*: in philosophical language, *placet mihi* is regularly used in the sense of *I am of opinion*. *finis*: *object*.

1599. *aedificandi descriptio*: *the plan of the building*.

1600. *commoditatis...diligentia*: *regard for convenience and appearance*.

1601. *Cn. Octavio*: *Cn. Octavius* was praetor and commander of the fleet in the war against Perseus of Macedon, 168 B.C. In 165 he was consul.

1603. *in Palatio*: the Palatine hill, on which many of the nobles lived.

1604. *suffragata*: *assisted*. *novo homini*: a *novus homo* was the first member of a family to be elected to a curule office.

1605. *Scaurus*: *M. Aemilius Scaurus*, son of Scaurus mentioned in l. 879, held the offices of aedile and praetor, but was defeated for the consulship, 54 B.C. Two years later he was convicted of bribery and banished. Reference is made to this fact in *ignominiam...calamitatem*, below. *accessionem adiunxit*: i.e. enlarged his home.

1607. *primus*: *was the first of his family to*.

1608. *multiplicatam*: equivalent to *auctam*. *repulsam*: defeat at the Consular election, 54 B.C.

1609. *enim*: introduces the reason for *sed ignominiam*, etc., above.

1611. *domino*: the Instrumental Ablative; equivalent to *dignitate domini*, as *domo* stands for *magnificentia domus*.—MÜLLER. in *ceteris*: for *in ceteris rebus*.

1612. *sua*: equivalent to *sui*; the Possessive is used here instead of the Objective Genitive; for this usage, see G. 304, 2, N. 2; A. & G. 197, a, 2; B. 243, 2; H. 440, 2, N. 2; L. 1262.

1615. *laxitatis*: size, roominess. *aliter*: otherwise, i.e. if many guests are not received.

1617. *alio domino*: Ablative Absolute with the force of a Temporal clause. *frequentari*: crowded.

1619. *O domus ... domino*: from some unknown poet; *heu* is for *et* of the MSS. For part of the same quotation, cf. *Phil.* II. 41, 104: *O tecta ipsa misera quam dispari domino ... tenebantur*—referring to Pompey's house occupied by Antony after Pompey's death.

1620. *Dominare*: equivalent to *dominaris*; used passively.

1621. *in multis*: sc. *domibus*. The followers of Caesar had got possession of many of the confiscated palaces of the Pompeians.

1622. *Cavendum autem est*: for the same expression, cf. l. 1512; *autem* is moreover.

1624. *in exemplo est*: it sets a bad example.

1625. *hanc partem*: i.e. *malam partem*.

1626. *L. Luculli*: L. Licinius Lucullus, consul 74 B.C. and victor in the third Mithridatic war, was noted for his high character and his immense wealth. He possessed magnificent villas at Tusculum and Misenum. *virtutem quis*: sc. *imitatur*.

1628. *modus*: a limit. *mediocritatemque*: a moderate standard.—HOLDEN.

1629. *usum cultumque*: cf. *ad cultum ... victum*, l. 152.

1631. *In omni*, etc. This section is largely a repetition of what has been said in Ch. XXIX.

1632. *appetitus ... pareat*: cf. *appetitum ... praebeamus*, l. 1526.

1634. *ut neve ... neve*: this usage is very rare in Cicero; see G. 543, 4.

1636. *Tertium est*: corresponding to *primum* and *deinde*, above; see Note on *Alterum est*, l. 221. *caveamus*: equivalent to *curemus*; see Note on *ut habeat*, l. 851.

1637. *liberalem*: for the meaning, see Note on *specie ... liberali*, l. 1118. *moderata ... Modus*: see Note on *modus*, l. 1628.

1638. *ipsum*: i.e. just what is becoming.

CHAPTER XL.

1641. *Deinceps*: see Note on l. 507.

1642. *Haec*: referring to *ordine* and *opportunitate*.

1643. *εὐταξία*: *good order*. *hanc*: we should expect *hac*, corresponding to *scientia ea*, but it is attracted into the same case as *modestiam*.

1645. *illa*: Nominative, subject of *est*, instead of the Ablative like *scientia*, or Accusative like *hanc*; cf. *Tertium est*, l. 1636. *εὐταξία*: used here in the sense of *correctness of conduct*.

1646. *ut . . . appellemus*: *to call it also 'modestia'*; i.e. Cicero can find no better word to represent the Greek *εὐταξία* in its second meaning, *correctness of conduct*, although *modestia* really involves the word *modus*, *the right limit*.

1647. *ut . . . sit*: with this form cf. *sic definiunt, ut id. . . velint esse*, l. 1116.

1648. *agentur . . . dicentur*: cf. *conferemus*, l. 1576. *loco suo collocandarum*: *the right placing*.

1649. *ordinis*: cf. *ordinis conservatio*, above. *collocationis*: referring to *rerum*. . . *loco suo collocandarum*. *nam et*: *et* for *etiam*; see Note on l. 1543.

1651. *locum . . . actionis*: in brief for *compositionem* (*a placing together*) . . . *locis*. *opportunitatem temporis*: sc. *agendi, suitable time for action*.

1652. *esse dicunt*: *they mean by it*.

1653. *εὐκαιρία*: *fitting time*. *occasio*: cf. *Inv. I. 27*: *Occasio est pars temporis habens in se alicuius rei idoneam faciendi aut non faciendi opportunitatem*; *occasio* involves the idea of chance, and in this respect is not exactly equivalent to *εὐκαιρία*.

1654. *haec*: i.e. *in this sense*, in distinction from its more general meaning.

1656. *de qua . . . diximus*: sc. *prudentia*.

1657. *principio*: *prudentia*, one of the four cardinal virtues, is discussed in Ch. vi.

1659. *Itaque*: logically this belongs with *quae autem . . . dicenda sunt*.

quae . . . erant propria: the Imperfect is used in this instance of a general truth; it may be rendered, *those things which we have shown to be characteristic of wisdom*.

1660. *quae . . . virtutum*: sc. *propria sunt*. *iam diu loquimur*: from the beginning of Ch. xxvii.

1661. *quae pertinent . . . vivimus*: a statement of the difference between *prudentia* (as considered in Ch. vi.) and *modestia*. *prudentia* regards time and circumstances only so far as they affect the moral ends sought; *modestia* observes them so far as they affect outward appearances or influence the opinions of our fellowmen.

1663. *ordo*: *regularity*. *adhibendus*: *observed*.

1664. *oratione constanti*: a consistent, well-ordered discourse, involving harmony in matter, arrangement, and style.

1666. *convivio digna*: mirth-provoking topics of lighter vein. *delicatum*: *immodest*.

1667. *Bene Pericles*: sc. *dixit*.

1668. *praetura*: here equivalent to *στρατηγία*, a military office. *Sophoclem*: Sophocles (B.C. 495–405), the tragic poet, as a reward for his Antigone, was elected by the Athenians one of the ten *στρατηγοί* in the war against Samos, 440 B.C. Pericles was commander-in-chief in this war. Cicero takes *praetor*, from *prae-ire*, as equivalent to *στρατηγός*.

1670. *Pericle, Sophocle*: Vocatives.

1671. *At enim*: *at* introduces an objection to the preceding, and *enim* the reason for the objection.

1674. *probatione*: *examination*.

1675. *Ut*: see Note on l. 226. *si qui*: for *qui* instead of *quis*, see G. 107, I, N. 1; A. & G. 104, a, N.; B. 91, 5; II. 184, 3; L. 2388.

1676. *meditetur*: *practice speaking*.

1678. *inhumanus*: *rude, ill-bred*.

1679. *inscitia temporis*: i.e. from his failure to comprehend what the circumstances require of a well-bred man.

1680. *in foro cantet*: cf. III. 19, 75: *in foro, mihi crede, saltaret*. The expressions are used to suggest any form of absurd conduct in public.

1681. *apparet . . . desiderat*: these verbs do not agree with their subject *ea* in the Plural, but are attracted into agreement with *perversitatis*, the subject of the nearest clause; but see Critical Appendix.

1683. *ab iis*: cf. *ab omni*, l. 1484.

1685. *paulum*: *only a little*. *a sciente*: i.e. by a well-trained musician.

1686. *videndum est*: *care must be taken*.

1687. *vel . . . etiam*: *or even*. *maior et melior*: for a similar use of these adjectives, cf. *Sen.* 6, 17: *At vero multo maiora et meliora facit*.

1688. *concentus*: *harmony*.

CHAPTER XLI.

1690. *minima*: cf. *paulum discrepent*, l. 1685.

1692. *Ex . . . contractione*: cf. *Quint.*, XI. 3, 79: *Ira enim contractis, tristitia deductis, hilaritas remissis (superciliis) ostenditur*.

1696. *eorum*: referred by some editors to *magna saepe*, above; by

others, and more properly, to *oculorum optutu*, etc. **apte fiat**: for this use of the adverb, see Note on *dicitur non obscene*, l. 1481. **officio**: equivalent to *decoro*.

1697. quidque eorum: cf. *quide eorum*, above; the reference in *eorum* is the same in both instances.

1698. in illis: see Critical Appendix. **vitemus ipsi**: with the sentiment of this passage, cf. Ter. *Ad.* 415, 416:

Inspícere tamquam in spéculum in vitas ómnium
Iubeo átque ex aliis súmere exemplúm sibi.

1699. nescio quo modo: see Note on l. 712. **ut magis ... delinquitur**: cf. Hor., *Sat.* I. 3, 25-27:

Cum tua pervideas oculis mala lippus inunctis
Cur in amicorum vitiis tam cernis acutum
Quam aut aquila aut serpens Epidaurius?

1701. quorum: *ei*, to be supplied, is the antecedent of *quorum*, and subject of *corriguntur*. **imitantur**: *mimic*.

1702. alienum est: cf. l. 1439. **ad ea eligenda**: for *ad eligendum ex eis*.

1703. adhibere: sc. *in consilium*, to summon to a consultation, to consult.

1705. Maior ... deducitur: the majority are generally right in their judgment, because they follow the guidance of nature. **deferri ... deducitur**: for the difference in meaning, see Note on l. 1215.

1706. In quibus: referring to *Maior ... pars*, as if *homines* had been used; see Note on *eorum*, l. 1424. **videndum est ... sentiat**: in accepting the judgment of the majority as the voice of nature, we must know what they actually think and the reasons for their belief. Their avowed sentiments, and still more their conduct, may be at variance with their real opinions.

1709. pictores: cf. the story of Apelles, Plin., *N. H.* xxxv. 10, 84: *perfecta opera proponebat in pergula transeuntibus atque ipse post tabulam latens, vitia quae notarentur, auscultabat vulgum diligentiores iudicem quam se praeferens*.

1710. vult: the verb agrees in number with *quisque*, and not with its grammatical subject *pictores et poetae*.

1715. agentur: see Note on *conferemus*, l. 1576, and cf. *habebunt*, l. 1727, and *pertinebunt*, l. 1761.

1716. illa ... ipsa: referring to *more ... institutisque*.

1717. errore ... ut ... arbitretur: a Consecutive sentence with *ut* is often used to explain a preceding substantive; see Note on *sic defi-*

niunt, l. 105.

Socrates: Socrates disregarded many of the conventionalities of life. He went about barefoot, stood on the streets, sometimes for hours, in deep meditation, and at home would occasionally dance alone.

Aristippus: Aristippus of Cyrene, a younger contemporary and pupil of Socrates, was the founder of the Cyrenaic school of philosophy and the system of Hedonism. For his teaching, cf. III. 33, 116: *Cyrenaici... omne bonum in voluptate posuerunt virtutemque censuerunt ob eam rem esse laudandam, quod efficiens esset voluptatis*; also Hor., *Ep.* I. i, 18; 17, 23.

1718. fecerint: for this use of the Plural verb with two subjects in the Singular connected by *aut*, see Madvig, 213, b, 1; L. 1070.

1720. Cynicorum: see Note on l. 1476.

1721. ratio: *philosophical system*.

1724. bene... sentientes: *patriotic*.

1725. sic ut: as if; as much as if. **honore... imperio**: see Note on l. 296..

1726. tribuere: cf. *hoc tribuit*, l. 900.

1727. habere dilectum: *to make a distinction between*.

1729. publice: *in an official capacity*. **Ad summam**: the adverbial phrase is used like *denique* to summarize the preceding statements. **ne agam**: with this construction cf. *ut... appellemus*, l. 1646. **communem... debemus**: the Stoics taught the brotherhood of man.

CHAPTER XLII.

1732. artificii et quaestibus: *trades and sources of gain.* **liberales**: *worthy of a freeman*.

1733. accepimus: sc. *a maioribus*. The reference is to Roman customs, and not to the doctrines of philosophers.

1735. portitorum: *custom-house officers*; the publicans of the New Testament. They were in reality subordinates in the employ of the Publicani proper, who farmed the public revenues. The Publicani proper belonged for the most part to the equestrian order. The odium of the business fell chiefly upon the subordinates. **faeneratorum**: *usurers*. **autem**: corresponding to *primum* in the enumeration.

1736. mercennariorum: *those who work for hire*.

1738. auctoramentum servitutis: *the price of slavery.* **etiam**: see Note on *autem*, l. 1735, above. **qui mercantur... vendant**: retail merchants.

1741. vanitate: equivalent to *mendacio*; see Note on l. 539; **Opifexque... Minimeque**: continuing the series *primum*, etc.

1742. *nec . . . officina*: agriculture was considered the only honorable form of manual labor for a freeborn Roman.

1745. *Cetarii*: *fishmongers*. *lanii*: *butchers*. *fartores*: *poulterers*. *piscatores*: *fishermen*; dealers in fresh fish, while the *cetarii* were dealers in salt fish.

1746. *ut . . . Terentius*: cf. *Eun.* 257. P. Terentius Afer, born at Carthage, 195 B.C., was brought to Rome in early years a slave, but was well educated by his master and finally liberated. His death occurred 159 B.C. Terence left six comedies which have come down to our time. *unguentarios*: *perfumers*. *saltatores*: *stage-dancers*.

1747. *ludum talarium*: a form of play with songs and dances, accompanied by cymbals and castanets. The name comes from the *stola talaris*, the dress of the actors.—HEINE. Others refer the expression to gambling, thinking the word *talaris* is used because the *tali*, *dice*, were employed in gambling.

1749. *doctrina*: *instruction*. *rerum honestarum*: equivalent to the *liberal arts*, *artium liberalium*.

1750. *ordini*: *rank*. *honestae*: these pursuits are honorable for certain classes, but are not appropriate sources of income for men of senatorial rank.

1751. *tenuis*: *on a small scale*.

1752. *multa . . . apportans*: i.e. importing many products from foreign lands.

1753. *vanitate*: see Note on l. 1741. *non est . . . vituperanda*: for the law practically forbidding senators to trade on a large scale, cf. *Livy*, *xxi.* 63, 3.

1754. *atque*: *Adversative in force*. *contenta potius*: *correcting satiata*.

1755. *ut saepe . . . portum*: sc. *se contulit*, expressed in the following clause. *ex ipso*: sc. *sic*, correlative to *ut*.

1756. *contulit*: the grammatical subject is *mercatura*; the logical subject is the person engaging in trade; see Note on *venerit*, l. 1554. *videtur . . . laudari*: trading on a large scale is not to be severely criticised, but the merchant who retires from the sea after gaining a competency and devotes himself to the management of great landed estates is the one deserving of the highest praise.

1758. *nihil homine . . . dignius*: see Critical Appendix.

1759. *in Catone maiore*: in chapters *xv.*—*xvii.*

1760. *illim*: found in the best MSS.; *illinc* is preferred by some editors; it refers to *Cato Maior de Senectute*. *assumes*: for the mood and tense, cf. *disces*, l. 14.

CHAPTER XLIII.

1762. *partibus* . . . *honestatis*: the four cardinal virtues.

1763. *ducerentur*: for the tense, see Note on *esset*, l. 292.

1764. *incidere*: cf. *incidunt*, l. 1577.

1765. *contentio et comparatio*: cf. l. 671.

1766. *utrum honestius*: sc. *sit*; on the omission of *sit*, see G. 209, N. 3; A. & G. 206, c, 2; L. 1036. a *Panaetio* . . . *praetermissus*: see Note on l. 122.

1767. *partibus quattuor*: cf. *iis partibus*, above.

1768. *cognitionis*: cf. *veri cognitione*, l. 212; referring to the first of the cardinal virtues, *prudentia*. *communitatis*: *fellow-feeling*, *public spirit*, referring to *iustitia*; *communitas subiective dicitur pro virtute qua societas hominum coniunctioque servatur*.—BEIER. *magnanimitatis*: equivalent to *fortitudinis*.

1769. *haec*: for *hae*, feminine Plural, referring to *partes*. This form is common in Plautus and Terence, and is occasionally found in Cicero and later writers.

1770. *comparentur*: for the omission of *ut* after *necesse est*, see G. 553, 4, 1. *placet*: equivalent to *placet mihi*, *I believe*; see Note on l. 1598.

1771. *ex communitate*: see Note on *communitatis*, l. 1768.

1772. *cognitione*: i.e. *sapientia vel prudentia*.

1773. *ea vita*: *ea* is here equivalent to *talis*.

1774. *affluentibus copiis*: Ablative Absolute.

1776. *si solitudo* . . . *vita*: for the same sentiment, cf. *Am.* 23, 87.

1777. *Princepsque*: *que* introduces the second reason, *quod, si* the first.

1778. σοφία . . . φρόνησις: the first is *wisdom* in the highest sense, the source of all virtue; the second is practical wisdom, *prudence*. *prudentiam enim*: the parenthetical sentence extends to *inter ipsos*; translate, *for by prudence*.

1779. *dicunt*: omitted by many editors.

1783. *deorum et hominum communitas*: cf. *Fin.* III. 19, 64: *Mundum autem censent regi numine deorum eumque esse quasi communem urbem et civitatem hominum et deorum et unumquemque nostrum eius mundi esse partem*. *societas inter ipsos*: sc. *hominum*, the relation of men to each other.

1784. *ea si maxima est*: the discourse broken off at *vocant* is here resumed; *ea* refers to *sapientia* and *maxima* is equivalent to *princeps*.

1785. *officium*: note its attraction into the Relative clause.

Etenim: *moreover*. This introduces the third reason for *Placet igitur . . . ducantur*; cf. also *Princepsque*, above.

1787. actio rerum: in the general sense of accomplishing something; its application is more closely defined in the following clause, *Ea autem . . . cernitur*. For the expression, cf. *rerum actiones*, l. 953. **consequatur:** see Note on l. 1348.

1789. igitur . . . ergo: *then . . . therefore*; *ergo* introduces the logical conclusion. **haec:** sc. *actio*.

1791. reapse: for *re ipsa*, from *re eapse* (archaic for *ipsa*). **cupidus:** used in the sense of *occupatus, intentus*, and therefore followed by *in* and the Ablative, and not by the Genitive, the ordinary construction with *cupidus*.

1794. allatum: equivalent to *nuntiatum*.

1797. idem: in the Nominative, *he also*.

1798. fecerit: see Note on *adiuveris*, l. 688.

1800. hominum utilitatem: for *communem utilitatem*; cf. l. 1817 and l. 262: *communes utilitates in medium afferre*; see Note on *communem*, l. 1729.

1801. antiquius: derived from *ante*, which appears especially in its meaning in this instance, *prior in importance, preferable*.

CHAPTER XLIV.

1802. Atque: *and besides*.

1803. versata est: for the Singular, see G. 285, Ex. 1; A. & G. 205, d; B. 255, 2; H. 392; L. 1068.

1804. utilitatibus: see Note on *fortitudines*, l. 903. **nam et:** see Note on l. 1649.

1805. rebus . . . publicis: *to their states*.

1806. Epaminondas: see Note on l. 971. **Lysis:** Lysis was an eminent Pythagorean philosopher of Tarentum. Driven from his native place by persecution, he took refuge in Thebes and became the teacher of Epaminondas.

1807. Syracosium: this Greek form of the adjective instead of the regular Latin form, *Syracusanum*, is very rare. **Dionem:** Dio or

Dion, the uncle of the younger Dionysius, whose kingdom he overthrew later, at first accepted the teaching of Pythagoras, but became a follower of Plato when the latter visited Syracuse, 389 B.C.

1809. a doctoribus . . . instructi: for similar acknowledgments on the part of Cicero; cf. *pro Arch.* 6, 14; *N. D.* I. 3, 6.

1812. monumentis litterarum: *literary works*.

1814. pertineret: for the tense, see Note on *esset*, l. 292.

1816. *videantur*: for its force, see Note on *videamur*, l. 1402.
Ita: see Note on l. 127.

1817. *intellegentiam*: *theoretical knowledge*, as distinguished from *prudentiam*, *practical wisdom*.

1818. *potissimum*: equivalent to *maxime*.

1819. *modo prudenter*: see Note on *modo occulte*, l. 1474.

1820. *sine eloquentia*: i.e. without giving expression to one's thoughts. *in se ipsa vertitur*: *is occupied with itself alone*; *se* is probably in the Ablative, though some editors regard it as an Accusative; *vertitur* is equivalent to *versatur*; cf. *virtus omnis tribus in rebus fere vertitur*, II. 5, 18.

1824. *multo etiam magis*: i.e. than *apium examina*.

1825. *natura congregati*: the participle is used with adjectival force and the expression is equivalent to *natura congregabiles*.

1826. *constat ex*: *rests upon, consists in*.

1827. *atingat*: see Note on l. 213.

1829. *itemque...immanitas*: some editors regard this clause as spurious because it breaks the course of the argument and has no connection with the following sentence, *Ita fit*, etc. It may be taken, however, simply as an illustration, to show that knowledge and fortitude are alike in this respect, that each must be used for the welfare of men or it will be of little worth, a mere empty name. *remota...humana*: Ablative Absolute construction with the force of a Conditional clause, of which *feritas sit*, etc., is the conclusion.

1830. *quaedam*: see Note on l. 1104.

1831. *consociatio*: *the desire for society*.—HOLDEN.

1832. *a quibusdam*: the Epicureans held that the state was the creation of men for mutual protection; Lucr., v. 1105 ff. Plato taught a similar doctrine, but had in mind man's higher development, and not merely his physical welfare; *Rep.* II., p. 369, b.

1835. *initam esse*: the regular construction with *verum est*.

1836. *vietum cultumque*: see Note on l. 152.

1837. *virgula divina*: *by a magic wand*; probably an allusion to the *caduceus* of Mercury, by means of which wonderful transformations could be made. *suppeditarentur*: cf. *Am.* 23, 87: *suppeditans omnium rerum, quas natura desiderat, abundantiam*, etc.

1839. *cognitione et scientia*: the former is the process, the latter the result. *collocaret*: the governing expression is *verum est*, above; therefore we should expect *quemque...se collocaturum esse*, but after *quodsi* the discourse is changed from the indirect to the direct.

1842. *omne officium*: equivalent to *quodque officium*.

1844. *continetur*: *confined to*.

CHAPTER XLV.

1845. *Illud: the following.* *quaerendum sit: Potential Subjunctive.*

1846. *communitas: see Note on l. 1768.* *apta naturae: cf. aptiora... naturae, l. 1771.*

1847. *Non placet: sc. anteponi eam; see Note on placet, l. 1770.*

1848. *foeda: offensive.*

1849. *flagitiosa: scandalous.*

1850. *Ea... permulta: very many of these; see G. 370, 2; A. & G. 216, e; B. 201, 1, b; Il. 442, 2.* *Posidonius: Posidonius, the Stoic philosopher, was born at Apimea in Syria about 135 B.C. He was a pupil of Panaetius and later taught at Rhodes, at which place Pompey visited him and Cicero received instruction from him. Posidonius spent the closing years of his life at Rome in Cicero's house. He was a man of great and varied learning, but fragments only of his many works have come down to us.*

1851. *taetra: disgraceful; referring to flagitiosa.* *obscena: indecent; referring to foeda.*

1852. *suscipiet: sc. sapiens as subject.*

1853. *ne... quidem: nor.*

1854. *accidere tempus, ut: sc. tale or eius modi; see Note on l. 360: promissum... ut.*

1856. *effectum sit: in the sense of conclusum sit, ex argumentis colligatur.*

1857. *id genus officiorum: equivalent to officia eius generis, but the former is the more common mode of expression.* *teneatur: contineri is generally used in this sense; cf. ll. 1782, 1844. The clause is equivalent in meaning to Quod versetur in societate tuenda, in eaque sit positum.—HEUSINGER.*

1858. *Etenim... prudenter: see Critical Appendix. In § 159 Cicero compares communitas and moderatio, and now, if this passage is genuine, takes up cognitio and prudentia, which had been discussed before. At all events, the order and connection are broken.*

1861. *locus... ipse: for the meaning of locus in this clause, cf. Quint., v. 10, 20: Locos appello.. sedes argumentorum, in quibus latent, ex quibus sunt petenda.*

1862. *cuique: sc. officio.*

1863. *gradus officiorum: cf. Ch. XVII., especially § 58*

1865. *deinceps: this implies reliqua or cetera.*

1868. *honestumne: cf. utrum honestum... solet, l. 124.*

1870. *ut supra dixi: in ll. 123 and 1766.*

CRITICAL APPENDIX

MANUSCRIPTS AND EDITIONS

The *De Officiis* has been preserved in numerous MSS., many of which, however, have not been thoroughly collated. They have apparently all come from one source, through two distinct lines of descent. To the first class, dating from the tenth century, belong :

- b. Codex Bernensis, at Berne.
- A. Codex Ambrosianus, at Milan.
- B. Codex Bambergensis, at Bamberg.
- H. Codex Herbipolitanus, at Würzburg.

To the second :

- c. Codex Bernensis, of the thirteenth century.
- a. Codex Bernensis, of very little value.
- p. Codex Palatinus, of the twelfth century.
- L. Codex Harleianus, of the ninth or tenth century, very much mutilated ; in the British Museum.

The *editio princeps* was published in connection with the *Paradoxa* by Fust and Schöffler at Mayence, 1465, and is one of the oldest specimens of classical typography in existence. It was followed by other editions in the same century, and by a very large number in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

The following editions are worthy of special mention :

- J. G. Graevius. Amsterdam. 1688. This contained the notes of Lambinus and others, and was reprinted several times.
- J. F. Heusinger. Brunswick. 1788. The first really pure text. Among its many reprints is the edition of Zumpt. Brunswick. 1838.
- S. G. Gernhard. Leipsic. 1811.
- C. Beier. 2 vols. Leipsic. 1820.
- The Lemaire ed. Paris. 1831.
- R. Stürenburg. Leipsic. 1834. 1843.
- C. F. W. Müller. Leipsic. 1882.
- O. Heine, 6th ed. Berlin. 1885.

- R. Sabbadini. Turin. 1889.
 P. Dettweiler. Gotha. 1890.
 Th. Schiche. Leipsic. 1896.
 H. A. Holden. New ed. Cambridge. 1899.

VARIANT READINGS

I., l. 13. **dicendum**: so the editors; the MSS. have *discendum*.
 l. 27. **magnopere**: the reading of the MSS., and of Müller, Heine, and Schiche. Baiter has **magno opere**. l. 29. **se aequarunt**: *se* is not found in all of the MSS., and is omitted by some editors. l. 30. **maior in illis**: corrected by Orelli, from order of the MSS., *in illis maior*. l. 33. **elaboraret**: suggested by Lambinus in place of the reading of the MSS., *laboraret*.

II., l. 57. **et neglegendo**: some of the older editions follow **c** and read *et in neglegendo*. l. 81. **Sequemur**: suggested by Graevius in place of *sequimur* of the MSS. l. 89. **ratione**: so Baiter, Heine, Müller, Schiche; *a ratione*, MSS. l. 91. **disputetur. . . Omnis**: Baiter has *disputetur. Omnis*.

III., l. 94. **conformari**: the MSS. have *confirmari*. l. 97. **Quorum autem officiorum**: Heine has *Quae autem officiorum*, rejecting the reading of the MSS. l. 101. **Atque . . . possit**: this section is regarded as spurious by some critics. Unger brackets *Atque . . . dicitur et perfectum* and *Atque ea sic . . . esse definiant*. Baiter retains the entire passage, because any attempt at emendation seems hopeless. The objections to it are these: it does not follow § 7 naturally, while § 9 does; no mention is made of it in III. 3, 14, where there is a like division of duties; it appears to be a careless condensation of III. 3, 14 and *Fin.* III. 17, 58. l. 104. **quoniam**: *quod* is the reading of Orelli, for which the authority is very slight. l. 122. **Hac divisione**: Baiter reads *in hac*, contrary to the MSS.

IV., l. 135. **item**: the MSS. have *autem*. Manutius proposed *item*, which has been adopted by most editors. l. 137. **procreata sint**: so the MSS.; some editors prefer *sunt*. l. 143. **praegressus**: the reading of **Hb** and many editors; Holden and some others prefer *progressus*. l. 148. **ingeneratque . . . procreati sunt**: bracketed by Facciolatus and Baiter. l. 164. **praecipienti**: rejected by Sauppe, and bracketed by Baiter and Heine as a gloss on *docenti*. l. 169. **qui modus**: the reading of the MSS.; *quid modus*, Unger and Heine. l. 174. **conservandam**: Baiter has *conservanda*, following inferior MSS.; Müller defends *conservandam* on the ground that it agrees with a more remote and more important word, instead of agreeing

with the nearest. 1. 175. *faciat, tum . . . factis*: Heusinger rejects these words. 1. 179. *honestum sit*: the reading of the MSS. and of most editors. Schiche has *est*.

V., 1. 205. *Ordo autem*: the reading of the MSS. and of Müller's 2d ed. *Item*, suggested by Pearce, is retained by Baiter and Schiche.

VI., 1. 233. *studiis cognitionis*: the reading of A and of most editors; *cogitationis*, BHbc, Schiche, and some editors.

VII., 1. 241. *duae*: the reading of BHb, Müller, and Holden; *duae sunt*, c, Baiter, and Heine; *sunt duae*, Schiche. 1. 252. *discriptio*: the MSS. and editors vary between *discriptio* and *descriptio*. 1. 254. *e quo si*: the text is uncertain. Schiche agrees with the text of Müller; Holden has *eo plus si quis*; Heine, *de quo si quis*; Orelli, *eo si qui sibi plus*. Müller suggests that *quid* may have fallen out.

VIII., 1. 311. *cogitata*: Orelli prefers *cogitate*; Madvig, *cogitato*.

IX., 1. 323. *expetant . . . soleant*: the reading of Müller and most editors. Holden has *expetunt . . . solent*. 1. 325. *Nam alterum . . . deserunt*: bracketed by Unger and Baiter. Müller, Holden, and others bracket only *iustitiae genus*. Halm suggested *ut inferenda* for *in inferenda* of the MSS. Baiter and Heine read *inferenda*. 1. 326. *in alterum incidunt*: the reading of the best MSS. and of Baiter, Müller, Schiche, and others. The interpretation is difficult. If we supply *iniustitiae genus* with *alterum*, to make the clause intelligible, the objection arises that *alterum* above refers to *iustitiae genus*, whereas *alterum* in each instance should refer to something of the same kind and not to things of different kinds, as *iustitia* and *iniustitia*. Holden follows c in reading *in altero delinquant*, which Heine regards as simply the conjecture of a copyist, to make the text harmonize with *iustitiae genus*. 1. 337. *Quando*: Baiter reads *quoniam*, contrary to the MSS.

X., 1. 380. *sed malitiosa*: retained by Müller, Holden, and Schiche; bracketed by Baiter and Heine; changed by Lund to *et malitiosa*.

XI., 1. 427. *Popilius . . . movendo*: rejected by Madvig; Schiche retains only the last sentence, *Adeo . . . movendo*; bracketed by Müller, Baiter, and Heine. Its genuineness is doubted, because it contains careless and incorrect expressions, and because it seems to be only another version of the following passage, *M. quidem Catonis . . . cum hoste pugnare*.

XII., 1. 455. *cum civi aliter contendimus*: suggested by Anemoecius in place of the reading of the MSS., *cum civiliter contendimus*, *aliter si*. 465. *Nec cauponantes*: Baiter and Heine follow p in reading *non*.

XIII., l. 480. **Secundo...approbavit**: found only in *c*. See Notes.

XIV., l. 543. **et communitas...conlata**: Heine follows Unger in reading *et ad nostras utilitates officia ante conlata et communitas ac societas vitae*.

XV., l. 556. **sapiente**: so the MSS.; *sapienti*, Baiter, following Wesenberg. l. 579. **morbo**: *modo* was defended by Beier.

XVI., l. 605. **ut sit...ipsis**: the reading of the MSS. is *ut sit constitutum. E quibus ipsis*. Gulielmus proposed *legibus* for *E quibus*; Pearce, whom Baiter follows, suggested *est* for *sit*. l. 607. **Omnium...communia**: the reading of most editors, following Zumpt; the MSS. have *Omnia*.

XVII., l. 645. **et caritate**: *et* is not in the MSS.; it was proposed by Perizonius. l. 651. **tamen**: bracketed by Baiter and Heine; retained by Müller. l. 658. **vult in amicitia**: so the MSS.; Nonius suggested *ultimum*. See Notes.

XVIII., l. 691. **et consuetudo...capienda**: bracketed by Baiter and Müller, following Facciolatus. See Notes. l. 710. **Salmacida, spolia**: the reading of Müller, Heine, and Holden. *Salmaci, da spolia*, Orelli, Baiter, Schiche.

XIX., l. 743. **excellet**: the best MSS. have this form. Many editors prefer *excellit*.

XX., l. 765. **persuasum est**: proposed by Madvig; the MSS. have *sit*. l. 770. **sed [ut]**: *ut* is found in the MSS., but it is bracketed by the editors. Heine suggests that it may have come from *etiam*, as

there is no reason for repeating *ut*, and *sed etiam* would be more appropriate in this instance than *sed* alone. Schiche follows some of the older editors in reading *sed et*. l. 798. **voluptate nimia**: Müller, Holden, and Schiche have *nimia*. The MS. reading is *animi*, which is omitted by Baiter and bracketed by Heine.

XXI., l. 824. **sit causa**: some editors have changed *sit* to *est*, but without sufficient reason. l. 838. **nihilo minus**: *nihil minus*, the MSS.

l. 847. **maiораque studia efficiendi**: *studia* is the reading of Unger and Müller, but is not found in the MSS. *a* has *maiorque cura*, which is retained by Holden and others.

XXII., l. 861. **et cupidi...gerendorum**: bracketed by Baiter, after Sauppe, because it is a practical repetition of *bella...quaesiverunt*. Heusinger proposed *callidi* in place of *cupidi*. l. 875. **partum**:

suggested by Lambinus and adopted by Müller. Schiche reads *imperium auctum Lacedaemoniis putatur*. *c* has *dilatatum*, but it is not found in the other MSS. Holden follows *c*.

XXIII., l. 922. **Fortis...animi**: some of the early editors follow Lambinus in rejecting *animi* because of the following *praesenti animo*.

XXIV., l. 975. **Noenum** : the reading of Lachmann for *non enim* of the MSS.

l. 976. **plusque magisque** : *plusque* is the reading of Bernays for *postque* of the MSS. Müller and many editors retain *postque*.

l. 978. **optimum sit** : Halm suggested *est* in place of *sit* of the MSS.

l. 979. **audeant** : the reading of Ernesti for *audent* of the MSS. Heine retains *audent* and explains the Indicative as referring to particular persons.

XXV., l. 1017. **altitudo animi** : the reading of the MSS. except **c**, and of the editors generally. Orelli followed **c** in reading *lenitudo*.

XXVI., l. 1036. **superbiam** : bracketed by Baiter as a gloss on *fastidium*.

l. 1059. **neve** : suggested by Nonius. The MSS. have *nec*.
l. 1074. **parta** : most of the MSS. have *parata* ; the editors generally follow Heusinger in reading *parta*, for which there is some MS. authority.

l. 1078. **pareat** : there is also authority for *pateat*.

l. 1080. **vere . . . amice** : the text is uncertain. *vere* is the MS. reading. Orelli has *vitae* ; others *generi*.

XXVIII., l. 1139. **uno quoque** : Heine brackets *quoque*. Schiche, following Unger, reads *suoque*.

l. 1146. **adversus homines** : Baiter follows Lambinus in bracketing these words.

l. 1167. **Ita fit . . . officii** : bracketed by Baiter on the authority of Facciolatus. Baiter regards *Ita fit . . . obtemperet* as a marginal gloss on *Efficiendum autem*, etc., and *Omnis autem . . . officii* as taken from *Fin.* III. 17. The expression *actio . . . debet . . . agere* seems doubtful, though it may be defended by understanding a personal subject, implied in *actio*.

XXIX., l. 1173. **animi** : bracketed by Heine. l. 1206. **fit, ut si** : the reading of the MSS., except **c**, which has *et*. Madvig proposed *fit aut si*.

l. 1206. **gravissimo** : not found in the MSS., but inserted by Müller because of *libero* in the following clause. Schiche has *honestissimo* ; Madvig, Baiter, and Heine, *magno* ; Seyffert, *maximo*.

XXX., l. 1229. **in natura** : some editors supply *hominis*, comparing *natura hominis*, l. 1213. Schiche reads *in natura nostra*. Cf. *si natura . . . feret*, l. 1404, in which *natura* stands alone in the sense of *natura hominis*.

l. 1267. **alium [quemque] quamvis** : the MS. reading *alium quemque quamvis* has been variously emended. *aliquem, quamvis*, Pearce and Baiter ; *alium, quamvis*, Facciolatus, followed by Holden ; *alium quem, quamvis*, Orelli, followed by Schiche.
l. 1269. **itemque** : the MSS. and editors vary between *itemque* and *idemque*.

l. 1269. **Q. Mucio † Mancía** : see Notes.

XXXI., l. 1282. **nostra . . . regula** : based upon the conjecture of Ernesti ; the reading varies in the MSS.

l. 1289. **cum** : proposed by Lambinus ; omitted in the MSS.

l. 1291. **innatus** : the reading of Baiter, Heine, and Müller. The MSS. have *notus*, which Holden and

Schiche retain. Some editors prefer *natus*. l. 1296. *alius... debeat*: not found in the best MSS. *in eadem causa* bracketed by Baiter. l. 1307. [*et iucundum*]: found only in *cp* of the MSS. Heine thinks it a gloss on *adfabilem*. l. 1315. *suum*. *Suum quisque*: Baiter follows the MSS. in reading *Suum quisque*.

XXXII., l. 1333. *nobilitas... divitiae*: the MSS. have *nobilitatem... divitias*. A few editors read *nobilitates*. l. 1359. *Herculem Prodicus dicit*: the reading of Manutius, followed by Müller, Baiter, Heine, Holden, and Schiche. Some editors have *Herculem Prodicium dicunt*. The reading of the best MS. is *Herculem prodigum dicit*.

XXXIII., l. 1383. *et rei*: the conjecture of Gruter. *ei* is not in the best MSS. *c* and *p* have *eius rei*. l. 1415. [*et vitium*]: bracketed by Baiter and Müller; the reading of **ABHbc**; *et impium* of **L** and *p*; *vitium* is retained by Holden and Schiche.

XXXIV., l. 1428. *si ne in... nolent*: the reading of Stürenburg; *si in... nolint* **ABHb**; *si in... volent*, *c*. l. 1440. [*de civium*]: bracketed by most editors because the duties of citizens are not discussed in the following passage.

XXXV., l. 1466. *foedum*: proposed by Klotz and accepted by Müller, Heine, and Holden. The best MSS. have *formam*. Baiter and Schiche read *turpem*, following *c*. l. 1478. *re turpia*: *re* is lacking in some of the MSS., and is omitted by Müller and a number of editors. Holden, Schiche, and others retain it. *verbis*: the reading of the best MSS. Some of the later MSS. and some editors have *nominibus ac verbis*. Müller omits *nominibus ac*, and Holden brackets it as a gloss. l. 1487. *teneat*: the reading of the MSS. Most editors have *teneant*.

XXXVI., l. 1500. *venustas sit*: Baiter and Heine follow Halm in reading *est*, against the authority of the MSS. l. 1513. *in ingressu*: *in* is omitted in the MSS.

XXXVIII., l. 1584. *Magnam... partem*: the conjecture of Lambinus for *magna autem parte* of the MSS. Unger proposed *magna autem in parte*. l. 1585. *ut et*: Müller and Baiter omit *et*. Holden, Schiche, and others retain it. l. 1587. *id causa*: *id* is not found in all the MSS., and is bracketed by Baiter.

XXXIX., l. 1614. *cuiusque modi*: *modi* is the reading of *c* and *p*; *generis* of *a*; omitted in the other MSS. l. 1627. *imitati*: omitted by Schiche; bracketed by Baiter and Heine. Holden reads *imitati [sunt]*. l. 1628. *mediocritatemque*: *mediocritatem*, Baiter.

XL., l. 1673. *Atqui*: the reading of Heine, Müller, and Schiche for *atque* of the MSS. l. 1681. *apparet... desiderat*: the reading of the MSS. Baiter and many editors read *apparent... desiderant*.

XLI., l. 1691. *animadversores* : *animadversoresque*, MSS.; *spectatores animadversoresque*, Klotz; some editors supply *iudices*; many omit *que*. l. 1698. *in illis*: most MSS. have *in illos*; Baiter and Schiche, following Anemoecius, have *illos*, which Müller thinks may be right. l. 1712. *et ex aliis*: *ex* is the reading of Müller, following Unger. Most MSS. have *cum*, which Schiche retains; Baiter and many editors read *ab*. Müller thinks it probable that *ex* fell out after *et*.

XLII., l. 1747. *Quibus autem*: the reading of the MSS. Some editors prefer *In quibus*, on the ground that it conforms to Cicero's usage with *inest*. l. 1758. *nihil homine libero dignius*: the reading of the editors, because the discussion is about the employment of free-men and not about the labor of slaves. The MSS. have *nihil homine, nihil libero dignius*.

XLIII., l. 1774. *copiis omnia*: the MSS. have *copiis quamvis omnia*, which was corrected by Lambinus, whom Baiter, Heine, Müller, Schiche, and others follow. l. 1783. *deorum et*: bracketed by Baiter, following Gernhard; retained by Müller, Schiche, and others. l. 1800. *utilitatem*: the reading of **BHb**; *caritatem*, of **c** and **p**.

XLV., l. 1856. *effectum sit*: Baiter follows Halm in reading *est*. l. 1858. *Etenim...prudenter*: this sentence is bracketed by Heine, who regards the discussion as closing with *societate*.

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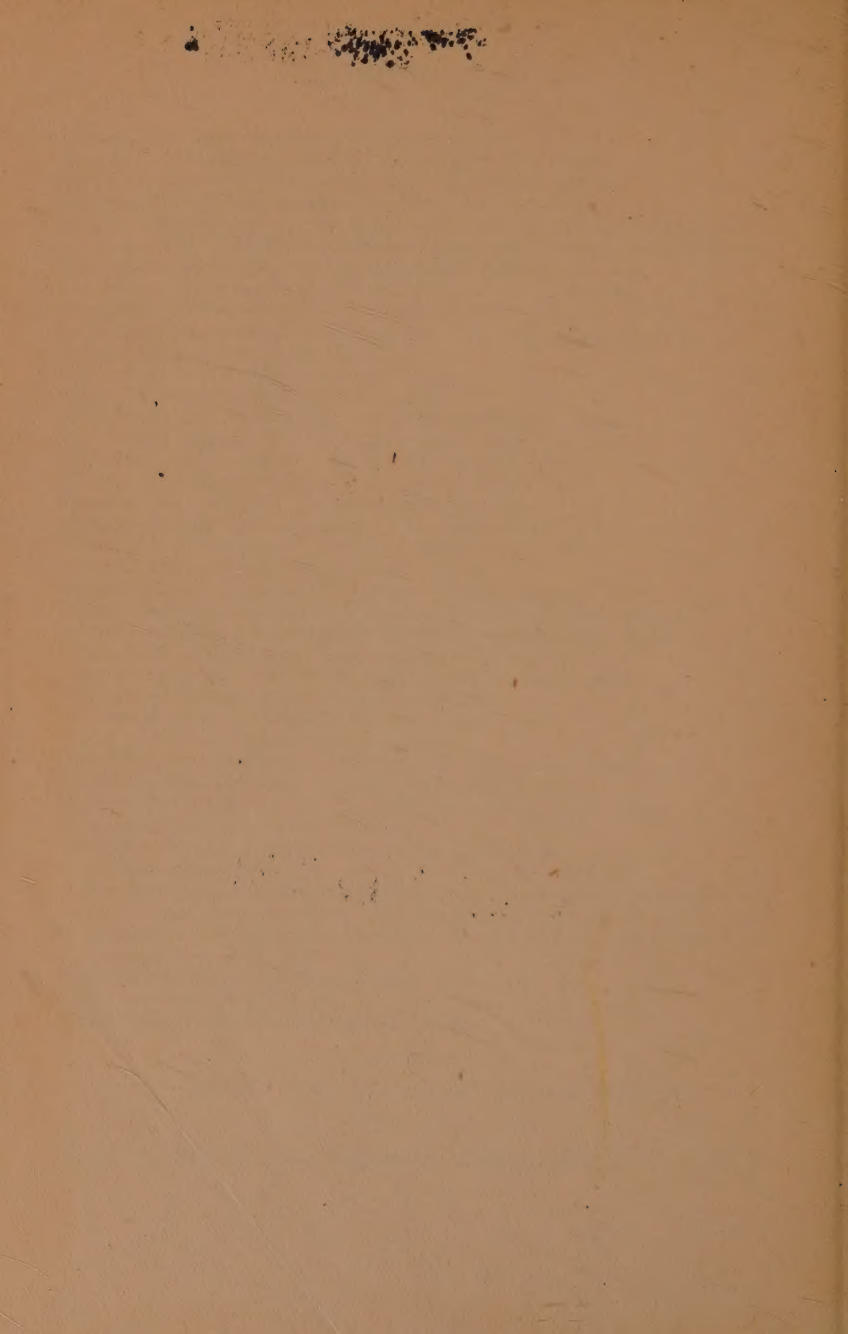
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